D 20 .L3 1915 V. 1
Larned, Josephus Nelson,
1836-1913.
Larned's history of the
world

DATE DUE

NEBRASKA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
1800 SYRACUSE
NORFOLK, NE 68701

Nebraska Christian College Library

Courtesy of Mrs. V. G. Smith

THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE SOUTHWEST

From a photograph

Larned's
History of the World
or
Seventy Centuries
of the Life of Mankind

A SURVEY OF HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS
THROUGH ALL STAGES OF CIVILIZATION, IN ALL
IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, DOWN TO
THE PRESENT TIME

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF PREHISTORIC PEOPLES, AND WITH CHARACTER SKETCHES OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES OF EACH HISTORIC EPOCH

By J. N. LARNED

EDITOR OF THE FAMOUS "HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE," AND AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS," "A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS," ETC.

Illustrated by over one hundred and fifty reproductions of famous historical paintings and portraits in black and white, and colors.

In Five Volumes

VOLUME I
Pages 1-278

WORLD SYNDICATE COMPANY, INC.,
110–112 West Fortieth Street, New York City
1915

NEBRASKA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE LIBRARY

COPYRIGHT 1905 AND 1907 BY J. N. LARNED
COPYRIGHT 1914 BY S. J. LARNED
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Revised, Enlarged and Up-to-date Edition specially prepared by
C. A. NICHOLS COMPANY, Springfield, Mass.
(Publishers of Larned's "History for Ready Reference" and subscription editions of this work)

For distribution through newspapers by
WORLD SYNDICATE COMPANY, Inc., New York
who are the Sole Licensees for such distribution

PREFACE

I think of History as I do of the life of a man, whose days are but an epitome of its years. They instruct and interest us alike, by showing how that which *is* has proceeded from that which *was*, and how things that *had been* went into the making of things that *came to be*. The process of evolution is too complex for our understanding of more than some very small part. We can trace but a few of the countless influences from countless sources that stream into the simplest of single lives, and still fewer of the innumerable lines from cause to consequence that run through them all; but there is in every life a certain personal configuration, so to speak, which gives a trend to all the forces acting in it, turning them, more or less, into main channels, mingling their currents or leading them in parallel courses. The true biographer is one who recognizes and represents that trend in the life he depicts, seeing and showing what can be seen and shown of movements in it from birth to death, toward the out-come of character and destiny that appear at the end. This is done very finely sometimes in no more than a biographical sketch.

So, too, it is in History, with all its illimitable complexities. There are trends in it, everywhere and always, drawing events into more or less definable courses or movements, through what may seem to be a trackless tangle of threaded consequences and causes, from beginning to end. It is so in the history of a nation, in the history of a people, in the history of a period of time, and even in the general history of mankind at large. In the latter we may not always be able to trace the many differing movements of events to a union of results, or find parallel tendencies, for example, in Europe and Cathay; but we can, after all, traverse most of general history along courses and currents that are as visible as in the history of a single state or in the life of a single man.

To do so is to obtain the real teaching of History,—to find its meanings,—to draw its lessons,—to enjoy it with the deepest interest it can awaken in our minds. Not to do so is either to miss everything in it worth reading or else to get no more than the entertainment that the gossip of a newspaper may give. Events that are dealt with like unstrung beads,—broken, that is, from the relations that thread them, and thrown in mere handfuls together,—may have some fragmentary, anecdotal interest in themselves, but they are not History. Not a little, however,

of what passes for History, especially in abridgments and compends, is given to readers in that granulated form. They find the granulation so often in works of the smaller scale that they may think it goes necessarily with abridged statements of historical fact, which is not at all true. The proper abridgment of a narrative of history is neither a process of dessication, nor one of crushing and packing, but a work of discriminating selection and luminous arrangement, applied to its most significant incidents and larger facts. This is sometimes made the means of bringing the prominences of history into impressive relief, opening large views in it that might be narrowed or obscured by much amplitude of details. Some remarkable illustrations of that effect are seen in the essays of Macaulay. It is notable, too, in Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, in Bishop Stubbs' *The Early Plantagenets*, in Dean Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, in Alexander Johnston's *The United States* (written originally for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), and in many other books of pregnant brevity that might be named.

The method of historical composition which these writers have illustrated so finely is one that appeals to my admiration, and to my judgment of values in historical work. I have given much thought to its principles, and am bold enough,

in my present undertaking, to attempt the largest possible application of them, in a comprehensive survey of the whole of human history, from its dawn to the present day. The resulting exhibit differs essentially, in mode and character, from any other of like scope that I know. The aim in it has been to sift out almost everything that does not contribute importantly to a clear disclosure of the main *movements* in events, the occasional changes of direction in such movements, the marking thereby of epochs and periods that are more or less distinct, and the continuity of the forces that act in them throughout. If I have succeeded even partially in my undertaking, I can feel that I have not done an uncalled-for work; because success will mean some helpfulness to those who read it in comprehending History as a whole, and in subsequently seeking a better knowledge of its parts with a livelier interest in the details.

My first essay toward this work was made in a general sketch of European history, published in my *History for Ready Reference*, readers of which sketch have often urged me to extend it, or extend the plan of it, as I have now done. In parts of the present writing I have made considerable use of the former essay, but with extensive recasting, revision and enlargement, so that even the European sections of the survey are essentially new.

The story of the life of mankind is divided naturally, by great changes of circumstances, into six epochs; and I have grouped for each epoch the chief actors and the personages most illustrious in its history, with brief characterizations, and with portraits of many. This seems to be preferable to the scattering of such comments and illustrations through the body of the narrative text. Each group is, in itself, a significant and an interesting characterization of the epoch to which it belongs.

What is shown in successive periods, of events in different countries, and of movements and developments, progressive or retrogressive, in morals, or religion, or politics, or public education, or science, or literature, or arts, or trade, or general conditions of life, may be linked together and made continuous, from beginning to end, by reference to the INDEX in the last volume, which is carefully synthesized on every important subject and made very full.

J. N. LARNED.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE PREHISTORIC PEOPLES

Historic and prehistoric knowledge.—The unrecorded period of human life in different countries.—The paleolithic stage of primitive culture.—Flintworking and other arts in the "Old Stone Age."—The geological period of that Age.—Glacial and interglacial times.—Intermixed remains of arctic and tropical life.—The neolithic stage of culture, or "New Stone Age."—Remains of its arts.—Lake-dwellings in Europe.—The finding of metals.—Copper, bronze and iron.—Genesis of variations in the human species.—What is fundamental in the racial differences?—Classification of men by color.—Classification by language.—The Aryan hypothesis.—Searchings for the primitive Aryan home.—Classification by forms of the human skull.—The "cephalic index."—Long-heads and broad-heads.—Blondes and brunettes.—Prevalence of certain physical features in different parts of the world.—Various hypotheses relative to the primitive peopling of Europe. 1–18

HISTORIC EPOCH I.

EPOCH OF THE EARLIEST CIVILIZATIONS AND KNOWN EMPIRES

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE EPOCH

CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS TO THE SUPPOSED AGE OF ABRAHAM

(Approximately B. C. 4700 to 2200)

On the Nile: How Egypt was made by the river.—How its age is told by the depth of the soil.—Prehistoric discoveries of Professor Petrie.—Beginning of alphabets and written language.

—First decipherment of the hieroglyphics.—The Rosetta Stone.—Manetho's list of the pharaohs.—Its recent verification.—The builders of the pyramids.—The finding of the tombs of the first pharaohs in 1898-9.—Seven thousand years of Egyptian history now disclosed.—Religious ideas of the Egyptians.—High moral precepts of Ptah-hetep.—Invasion and conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos.—Supposed time of the visit of Abraham. *On the Euphrates and the Tigris:* Deep burial of the old civilization in the Mesopotamian valley.—Dissolution of its clay-built cities.—Wonderful preservation of its written memorials on tablets and cylinders of baked clay, in the heaps of their ruin.—Modern excavation.—The cuneiform writing and its decipherment.—Astonishing discoveries in recent years.—American work at Nippur.—Historical records from B. C. 4500.—The Babylonia of Abraham's time.—The Sumerian civilization.—Conjectured connection of early Chinese civilization with the Sumerian.—Rise of Babylon to supremacy.—Hammurabi, founder of the Babylonian Empire.—His identification with the Amraphel of the Bible.—Discovery of his code of laws.—The Babylonian legend of the deluge.—Time of the migration of Abraham from Babylonia to Canaan. *Elsewhere:* Glimpses of a rising civilization in and on the Ægean Sea.—The Aryan peoples of India and Iran.—Earliest Chinese records. 33–61

CHAPTER II

FROM THE SUPPOSED AGE OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF DAVID

(APPROXIMATELY, B. C. 2200 TO 960)

Egypt: The rule of the Hyksos.—Their expulsion.—Probability of the story of Joseph.—Amenhotep, the sun-worshiper.—Discovery of his foreign correspondence at Tel-el-Amarna.—Ramses II., the pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites. *Babylonia:* Development of schools, libraries, arts, literature, trade.—Rule of the Kassites.—The rise of Assyria. *Canaan and Aramea:* The exodus of Israel from Egypt.—Babylonian influence in Mosaic institutions.—The Israelite conquest of Canaan.—The period of the Judges.—Wars with the Philistines.—The founding of the Hebrew monarchy.—Saul.—David.—David's conquests.—His decline in character.—Strife for the succession to David's crown.—Triumph of Solomon. *The Phœnicians:* Former overestimate of the civilizing influence of the Phœnicians.—They were not the inventors of the alphabet. *Greek Regions:* Early civilization in and on the Ægean.—Knowledge from the work of excavation.—Light on the

Homeric poems.—Tyrians and Mycenæ.—Astonishing discoveries in Crete.—The labyrinth of King Minos.—Cretan writing.—Apparent origin of the Phœnician alphabet.—The Cretan age.—The Mycenæan age.—Divisions of the Hellenic peoples.—Movement of the Dorians.—Ionian preservation of the early culture. *Elsewhere:* Probable state of other parts of Europe.—The lake-dwellers.—Stonehenge.—Lydia.—Phrygia.—The Trojans.—The Aryas.—The Vedic hymns.—The Avesta. 62–105

CHAPTER III

FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE ADVENT OF CYRUS

(APPROXIMATELY, B. C. 960 TO 558)

The Period: Transfer of leadership in civilization to Aryan races. *The Hebrew Kingdoms, and Assyria and Babylonia:* Character and reign of Solomon.—Division of the monarchy.—The kingdoms of Israel and Judah.—Introduction of idolatry.—The prophets Elijah and Elisha.—Assyrian conquests.—Transplantation of conquered peoples.—Overthrow of the kingdom of Israel.—No mystery concerning the "lost ten tribes."—Resistance of Jerusalem to Sennacherib.—The prophet Isaiah.—Destruction of Babylon. *Egypt:* The Assyrian conquest.—Independence recovered.—Exploring expedition round Africa.—The first Suez canal. *Assyria, Media, Chaldean Babylonia and the Kingdom of Judah:* Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus).—His great library at Nineveh.—Last years of the Assyrian empire.—Destruction of Nineveh.—Secrets of history preserved in its ruins.—Nebuchadnezzar.—His destruction of Jerusalem.—Babylonian exile of the Jewish people.—End of the kingdom of David.—Magnificence of the new Babylon. *In the Lands of the Greeks:* A new era of culture opened by the Greeks.—Evolution of the first democracies.—The Ionian genius.—The Homeric epics.—The two great literatures of antiquity, Hebrew and Greek.—Political development of Athens. *The Latin Region:* Beginnings of Rome.—The unions that gave birth to it.—Origin of patricians and plebeians. *Phœnicians and Carthaginians:* The founding of Carthage.—Settlements in Spain.—Phœnician manufactures. *India:* Development of Brahmanism.—Creation of caste. *China:* General disorder. . . 106–149

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE ADVENT OF CYRUS TO THE AGE OF XERXES

(B. C. 558 TO 480)

The Period: Its two notable marks.—Trial of racial strength

and character between Asiatic and European branches of the Aryan-tongued peoples.—Religious movements in the Asiatic world. *Ancient Persia:* The nationality of Cyrus the Great, a problem. —Primitive Persia and the Persians.—Xenophon's account of Persian education of the young.—The Avesta.—Zoroaster. *Early Religious Reformations in the East:* Zoroaster's reform of the primitive religion of the Aryas.—Gotama, the Buddha, and Buddhism. —Teachings of Lao-tsze and Confucius. *The Persian Empire:* Overthrow of the Median empire by Cyrus.—His conquest of Lydia.—Crœsus, his wealth and his downfall.—Subjugation of Asia Minor.—Submission of Babylon.—Restoration of captive Jews to Jerusalem by Cyrus.—The empire left by Cyrus.—Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.—Reorganization of the empire by Darius. —His invasion of Europe.—His pursuit of the Scythians beyond the Danube.—Submission of Thrace and Macedonia to the Persian.—Peril of the Greek states. *The Greeks:* Brief experience of tyranny at Athens.—Pisistratus and his sons.—The democratic constitution of Cleisthenes. *Persian Invasions of Greece:* Athens sends help against Persia to Ionian cities in Asia Minor.—Wrath of King Darius.—His great expedition sent into Greece.—Its defeat at Marathon.—Second Persian invasion by Xerxes.— Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylæ.— Athens in ruins.— Destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis.—Disastrous end of the Persian invasion. *The Romans:* The Romans under their kings. —Aristocratic constitution of the early Roman Republic.— Formation of the democratic commonwealth. 150–178

HISTORIC EPOCH II.

EPOCH OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE EPOCH

CHAPTER V

FROM THE AGE OF XERXES TO THE AGE OF HANNIBAL

(B. C. 480 TO 200)

The Greeks: The rebuilding of Athens.—The Confederacy of Delos.—Despotic use of Athenian power.—The Age of Pericles —The Peloponnesian war.—Triumph of the enemies of Athens. —Decay of the Persian empire.—Retreat of the Ten Thousand. —Breaking of the Spartan yoke by Thebes.—Subjugation of Greece by Philip of Macedon. *The Macedonian Empire:* Over-

throw of the Persian empire by Alexander.—Great results from his conquests.—Division of his dominions after his death.—The Syrian monarchy of Seleucus.—The new Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies.—Degeneracy of the Greeks at home.—Their activity and influence in the field of the Macedonian conquests.—Alexandria. —The Jews of the "diaspora." *India:* The kingdom of Magadha. —Asoka.—Establishment of Buddhism.—Evolution of Hinduism. *The Roman Republic:* Roman subjugation of all Italy.—War with Pyrrhus.—The Punic wars.—Hannibal in Italy.—Fall of Carthage. 208–244

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE AGE OF HANNIBAL TO THE DEATH OF CÆSAR

(B. C. 200 TO 44)

Eastward conquests of Rome: Roman subjugation of Greece.—Defeat of the Syrian king Antiochus. *The Syrian monarchy and the Jews:* Oppression of the Jews.—Revolt of the Maccabees.—Rise of the Asmonean monarchy. *The Zenith and the Decline of the Roman Republic:* Evil effects of the Roman conquests on the character of the Republic.—Rise of a new aristocracy.—Mischievous features of the democratic system.—Increasing use of slave labor.—Aristocratic monopoly of public lands.—Agrarian agitations.—Fate of the Gracchi.—The Jugurthine War.—Destruction of Carthage.—Popularity and power of Marius, the successful soldier.—Optimates and Populares.—The Social War. —Rivalry of Marius and Sulla.—Civil War.—Triumph of Sulla. —His dictatorship and retirement.—Intrigues and struggles in the next generation.—The great game played by Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar.—Pompey in the East.—His suppression of the Syrian and Asmonean monarchies.—Cæsar's conquest of Gaul.—Civil war between partisans of Cæsar and Pompey.—Triumph of Cæsar.—His supremacy.—His assassination.—His great place in history. *China:* The Han dynasty. 245–278

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE DEATH OF ALARIC

(B. C. 44 TO A. D. 410)

Formation of the Roman Empire: Aspirants for the succession to Cæsar's power.—The Second Triumvirate.—Defeat and death of Cæsar's assassins.—Division of the Empire.—Mark Antony in

Egypt.—His overthrow and death.—Supremacy of Octavius, as Imperator and Augustus.—His organization of the Empire. *Birth of Jesus and rise of Christianity:* Judea at the time of the birth of Jesus.—The kingdom of Herod.—Roman government when Jesus began his teaching.—Jewish institutions.—The Great Sanhedrin.—Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes.—Their hostility to Jesus and proceedings against Him.—The spreading of belief in Him after His death. *The Roman Empire from Augustus to Diocletian:* The first emperors.—Nero, the madman.—Vespasian.—The great Jewish revolt.—Trajan's conquests abandoned by Hadrian.—The Antonine emperors.—Marcus Aurelius.—Happy state of the world.—The evil conditions that followed. *The new enemies of Rome:* A new Persian monarchy.—Impending avalanche of northern barbarians.—Franks, Alemanni, Suevi, Goths.—Beginning of Gothic invasions. *The Roman Empire from Diocletian to Arcadius:* Reorganization and division of the Empire.—Spread of Christianity.—Civil war, and triumph of Constantine.—The Christian church corrupted by imperial patronage.—Julian and the pagan revival.—Admission of Visigoths to the Empire.—Beginning of their ravages.—Final division of the Empire.—Decay in the west.—Alaric's attacks upon Rome.—The city taken and plundered.—Frontier defenses broken.—The barbarians swarming in. *China:* Introduction of Buddhism. 279–326

HISTORIC EPOCH III.

EPOCH OF THE NEW NATIONS, KNOWN AS THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE EPOCH

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE DEATH OF ALARIC TO THE ADVENT OF CHARLEMAGNE

(A. D. 410 to 768)

The period of the "dark ages."—Differing effects of the barbaric conquest. *Last years of the Roman empire in the west:* Attila, the Hun.—The Vandals in Rome.—End of the western line of emperors. *Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric:* Its brevity.—Hostility of the church. *The Roman empire in the east:* Reign of Justinian.—Belisarius.—Narses.—Recovery of Rome and Italy. *Britain, and its conquest by German tribes:* Roman occupation and abandonment of the island.—Pict, Scot and Saxon assailants.—Conquest by Jutes, Saxons and Engles.—Extinction of Christianity. *Spread*

and influence of Monasticism: Irish schools and missions.—Christian missionaries in England. *The kingdom of the Franks:* Conquests of Clovis.—The Merovingian dynasty.—Austrasia and Neustria.—Rise of the mayors of the palace.—The ancestry of Charlemagne. *Mohammed, and the conquests of Islam:* The Arabian prophet and his religion.—First century of Mohammedan conquests.—The Caliphs. *China and its neighbors:* Taitsong the Great. *The Roman empire in the east:* Its struggle with Persians, Avars and Arabs.—Final separation of Rome. *Italy and Rome:* Lombard conquest of Italy.—How the bishops of Rome acquired authority and power.—Their alliance with the chiefs of the Franks. 356–397

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE ADVENT OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEATH OF HILDEBRAND

(A. D. 768 TO 1085)

Beginning of reconstructive processes. *Charlemagne and his empire:* His imperial coronation.—His conquests. *The Northmen:* What drove them to sea.—Forays of the Vikings.—Danes in England.—King Alfred's struggle with them.—Later Danish conquest of England.—Rollo's settlement in Normandy.—Norse voyages to America.—Beginnings of the Russian empire. *Slavonic peoples:* Their homes. *Feudalism in western Europe:* As a land system.—As a political system.—Disintegrating effects.—Mediæval cities. *Dissolution of the Carolingian empire:* The West Frank kingdom becoming France.—Hugh Capet.—The East Frank kingdom, or Germany.—Creation of the Germanic-Roman or Holy Roman empire.—Evil effects in Germany. *The empire and the papacy:* Anarchy at Rome.—Empire and papacy opposed in Italy.—Rise of Italian city-republics.—Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).—The "war of investitures."—Henry IV. at Canossa.—Normans in southern Italy.—Their treatment of Rome. *Norman conquest of England:* William of Normandy's claim to the English crown.—His subjugation of the English people.—Effects of the conquest. *The Chinese empire and Japan:* Khitans and Kins. 398–433

CHAPTER X

FROM THE DEATH OF HILDEBRAND TO THE EXILE OF DANTE

(A. D. 1085 TO 1302)

Importance of the period. *The Crusades:* Provoked by the

Seldjuk Turks.—Their origin.—Their conquests.—The first three crusades.—Sultan Saladin.—Alexius Comnenus and the crusaders.—Effects of the crusades. *Learning and Literature:* Rise of universities and common schools.—Growth of literature.—Chansons de geste.—Heroic epics and romances.—Troubadours and trouveurs.—The Arthurian legends.—Icelandic sagas. *Knighthood and chivalry:* The pride of the man on horseback.—Good and evil influences. *Religion and the church:* Mendicant and military religious orders.—Increasing clerical influence. *The Holy Roman empire:* The Hohenstaufen emperors and the popes.—Factions of the time.—Welfs and Waiblingens.—Guelfs and Ghibelines.—Frederick Barborossa.—Pope Innocent III.—Frederick II. *Germany and the empire:* Weakening of the German monarchy.—Petty principalities.—Free cities.—The Hanseatic League.—Rise of the house of Austria. *Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence:* Venetian dominion and trade.—Wars.—Government.—Turbulent factions in Florence.—Exile of Dante.—Radical democracy. *The kingdom of France:* Its growth.—Recovery of Normandy and Anjou.—Philip Augustus.—Louis IX. (Saint Louis).—Philip IV. *England:* Under the Norman kings.—The Plantagenets.—Henry II. and his good work.—His quarrel with Becket.—King John and Magna Carta.—Simon de Montfort.—The Barons' War.—Edward I. and his "model parliament." *Spain:* Rise of Christian kingdoms.—Decay of the Moorish power.—Early free institutions and their loss. *China and the Mongols:* Conquests of Genghis Khan and his successors.—The empire of Kublai Khan.—Marco Polo. . 434–512

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE EXILE OF DANTE TO THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG

(A. D. 1302 TO 1454)

Afflictions of the fourteenth century.—War, pestilence and demoralizations. *The "Hundred Years War" waged by the English in France:* Its beginning by Edward III.—The Black Prince.—Battles of Crécy and Poitiers.—Wretched state of France.—The "Black Death" in England.—Social changes produced.—Democratic ideas afloat.—Wiclif and the Lollards.—Chaucer.—Beginnings of a great English literature.—Renewal of the war by Henry V.—Battle of Agincourt.—France half conquered.—Appearance of Joan of Arc.—Her wonderful influence.—Her death at the stake.—Final expulsion of the English from France.—"Wars of the Roses" in England. *Germany and the Holy Roman empire:* The "Golden Bull" of Charles IV.—Reformation of Huss in Bohemia.—The Hussite wars. *Italy and the church:* The "Babylonish

captivity" and the "great schism."—Anarchy in Rome.—Rienzi's revolution.—The "Sicilian vespers."—Long strife over Naples.—Rise of the despots in northern Italy.—Florence yielding to the Medici. *The Swiss Confederacy:* Its origin.—Doubtful legend of Tell. *The Ottoman Turks:* Their early career.—Their invasion of Europe.—Struggles of the eastern empire and the Balkan peoples with them.—Their capture of Constantinople. *The Mongols again:* Horrible career of Timour. *China:* Overthrow of the Mongol dynasty. *Japan:* The Ashikagas. . . . 513–574

CHAPTER XII

THE HISTORICAL WORLD AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

The transition from Mediæval to Modern.—The known world in the first half of the fifteenth century. *Mediæval Scholasticism:* The intellectual bar to advancement in knowledge.—Logic the whole of science.—Paralyzing deference to authority. *Mediæval Education:* The Scholastic training of mind compared with that of the classical education.—The finding of Nature and birth of modern science.—Italy and the "new learning."—Common schools in the Middle Ages.—Primary and secondary schools.—Books and studies. *The early Reading Public:* Increasing book-trade before printing was invented. *Mediæval Architecture:* Signification of the great cathedrals.—Clerical architects.—Public enterprise in cathedral-building.—How the cost was paid. *Mediæval Dwellings and Furniture:* Invention of chimneys.—Glass windows.—Development of home life.—Impossibility of it in fortified habitations.—Life in castles and walled towns.—English manors and manor-houses.—Peasants' homes. *Mediæval Serfdom:* Status of the serf or villein.—His tenure of land.—Substitution of a money-rental for labor claims. *Town-life in the Middle Ages:* Civic feeling in the mediæval town.—Responsibilities and duties of the citizen.—A town described. *Mediæval Gilds:* Gild monopolies.—Classes of the gilds. *Monasteries and Monks:* Their early influence.—Monastic colonization.—What the early monks did and were.—The monasteries as democratic institutions.—Why they fell. *The destruction of Feudalism:* Feudalism and mediævalism bound together.—The undermining agencies. . . 575–622

This marks the division between the Ancient and Mediæval Period and the Modern Period

HISTORIC EPOCH IV.

EPOCH OF MODERNIZING EXPANSIONS CALLED THE RENAISSANCE.

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE EPOCH

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG TO THE ADVENT OF LUTHER

(A. D. 1454 TO 1517)

The transition from mediæval to modern conditions.—Expansion, liberation, re-wakening.—Invention of printing and its effects.—Revival of learning.—Geographical exploration and discovery.—Undertakings of Prince Henry of Portugal.—Voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama. *State of Europe when America was discovered. France:* Louis XI. and Charles the Bold.—Consolidation of the kingdom. *Italy:* Naples, Milan, Florence.—The Medicean despotism at Florence.—Savonarola and his fate.—Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France.—Its effects on France. *Germany and the Empire:* The marriage unions of Austrian, Burgundian and Spanish families.—Their immense effects. *England:* Absolute monarchy resulting from civil wars.—Establishment of the Tudor dynasty. *Discovery of America:* Voyages of Columbus, Cabot, and Vespucius.—Papal grants to Spain and Portugal.—The naming of America.—Effects of the discovery, and of the opening of the sea-route to India.—The Portuguese in the east. *France and Italy:* Italian wars of Louis XII. Spanish acquisition of Naples.—The league against Venice.—Public disapproval of some popes. 651–688

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE ADVENT OF LUTHER TO THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

(A. D. 1517 TO 1556)

The Protestant Reformation: How Europe had been prepared to listen to Luther.—His ninety-five theses against the papal sale

of indulgences.—Situation in Germany following the Austro-Spanish marriage.—The emperor Charles V.—His opposition to the Reformation.—His suppression of freedom in Spain.—His persecuting tyranny in the Netherlands.—His Italian wars with Francis I. of France.—Capture and sack of Rome by the imperial army under constable Bourbon.—Peasant war in Germany.—Progress of the Lutheran reformation.—The emperor's undertaking to repress it by force.—Religious war, followed by the Peace of Augsburg.—Abdication of Charles V.—Zwingli, and the Swiss reformation.—Persecution of reformers in France.—Calvin at Geneva.—Henry VIII. of England.—Base motive of his quarrel with the papacy.—Separation of the English church from the Roman.—Reformation in England under Edward VI.—Restoration of Catholicism under Mary Tudor.—Return of Protestantism under Elizabeth.—Reformation in Scotland and Scandinavia.—Gustavus Vasa.—The Council of Trent. *The Spaniards in America:* Cortes in Mexico.—Pizarro in Peru.—Spanish colonial policy.—Aztec, Maya and Inca civilizations. 689–750

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE

(A. D. 1556 TO 1610)

Catholic reaction: Intrusion of mercenary and political motives in the Reformation movement.—Protestant divisions.—Purification of the papacy.—Organization of the Society of Jesus.—Malignant power of Philip II. of Spain. *Spain and the Netherlands:* The ruining of Spain.—Philip's despotism in the Netherlands.—Alva and his "Council of Blood."—Fate of Egmont and Horn.—The revolt.—Success of the "sea-beggars."—Heroic struggle of the Dutch for freedom.—Philip's assassination of its great leader, William the Silent.—Eastern trade won by the Dutch and English. *Religious Wars in France:* The contestants for power.—The Guises.—Catherine de' Medici.—The Huguenots as a party.—The Bourbons of Navarre.—Admiral Coligny.—Meddling of Philip of Spain.—The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.—Accession of Henry of Navarre to the throne.—His abjuration of Protestantism.—His Edict of Nantes. *Germany:* Events leading to the "Thirty Years War." *England:* Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots.—Execution of Mary.—The

Spanish armada.—Half-piratical warfare with Spain.—The Elizabethan age. *America:* Undertakings of the French.—Hawkin's slave-trading and Drake's piracies.—Projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—Raleigh's colonies.—The Virginia Company.—The Jamestown colony and Captain John Smith.—French and Dutch settlements. *China and Japan:* Opening of Christian missions.—Reconstruction of Japan by Ieyasu.—Suppression of Christianity. *India:* Founding of the Moghul empire. 751–806

HISTORIC EPOCH V.

EPOCH OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE EPOCH

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV. TO THE DEATH OF CROMWELL

(1610 TO 1658)

England and Scotland: Union of the crowns under the Stuarts.—Offensiveness of James I. to English feeling.—Weakening of loyalty.—Charles I.—His falsity of nature.—His attempts at absolutism.—The Long Parliament and its work.—Civil war.—Rise of Cromwell.—Defeat, trial, and execution of the king.—The Commonwealth.—The Protectorate of Cromwell.—Restoration of the Stuart monarchy. *France:* Aggrandizement under Richelieu.—Ministry of Mazarin.—The Fronde. *Germany:* The Thirty Years War.—Wallenstein.—Gustavus Adolphus.—Destructiveness and results of the war. *The Dutch Netherlands:* Acknowledgment of their independence.—Barneveld and Prince Maurice.—Domination of Holland.—The Dutch maritime career. *Russia:* Ivan the Terrible. *Poland:* The "liberum veto." *The Turks:* Waning of the crescent. *China:* The Manchu conquest. *Japan:* The period of isolation. *America:* Overthrow of the London Company in Virginia.—Founding of Maryland.—Colonizing of New England.—Plymouth.—Massachusetts Bay.—Connecticut.—Rhode Island.—New Haven.—Independent spirit in New England.—Cavaliers in Virginia.—Troubles in Maryland.—The English in the West Indies.—Dutch and French settlements. . 837–894

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE DEATH OF CROMWELL TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE

(1658 TO 1715)

England: Restored monarchy.—Ignoble reign of Charles II.—Protestant hostility to James II.—Monmouth's rebellion.—Revolution of 1688.—Reign of William of Orange and Mary.—Reign of Queen Anne.—Rise of ministerial government.—Literature of the reign.—National union of England and Scotland. *The Dutch Netherlands:* William of Orange, stadtholder.—His organization of resistance to Louis XIV. *France:* Reign of Louis XIV.—His perfidious conquests and wanton aggressions.—His revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—Leagues formed against him by William of Orange.—War of the Spanish Succession.—State of France as left by Louis XIV. *Germany:* Depressed condition of the petty states.—Rise of Prussia to the rank of a kingdom. *Russia:* Advent of Peter the Great. *Sweden:* Extraordinary career of Charles XII. *Italy:* The duke of Savoy made king of Sardinia. *America:* Founding of the Carolinas.—English conquest of New Netherland.—Penn and Pennsylvania.—Political character of the English colonies.—Design against them by the restored English monarchy.—The Massachusetts charter annulled.—Rule of Andros.—Effects of the English revolution.—The Franco-English wars in America.—Growth of antagonism between the colonies and the home government. *India:* First footing of the English East India Company obtained. *China:* Reign of Kanghi. 895–953

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV. TO THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(1715 TO 1775)

Momentous consequences from the wars of the period. *Great Britain:* The first Hanoverian kings.—Walpole.—Evolution of premier and cabinet.—The Mississippi and South Sea bubbles.—Jacobite risings. *France:* Louis XV and the Regency.—Bourbon "family compact." *War of the Austrian Succession:* The "pragmatic sanction" of Charles VI.—Frederick the Great and other spoils-hunters.—Results of the war. *The Seven Years War in Europe:* Combination against Frederick the Great.—His great

defensive campaigns. *The War in America:* The French in the Ohio Valley.—Washington's entrance into history.—Braddock's defeat.—Dispersion of the Acadians.—Pitt's infusion of new spirit into the war.—Wolfe's capture of Quebec.—Retirement of France from America.—Pontiac's war. *The War in India:* French and English struggle for supremacy.—Clive's career.—The "black hole of Calcutta."—Subjugation of Bengal.—Expulsion of the French. *Russia:* The four tzarinas.—Catherine II. *Great Britain and her colonies:* George III.—The "king's friends."—Their colonial policy.—The "stamp act" and its repeal.—Patrick Henry.—Samuel Adams.—The tea question and "the Boston tea party."—Punishment of Boston and Massachusetts.—The first "continental congress."—Lexington and Concord.—The colonies in arms.—Washington appointed to chief command. . 954–1000

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO HIS DEATH

(1775 TO 1799)

Continuity of revolutionary influence from the English Long Parliament to the French States-general. *The War of American Independence:* Campaigns and battles of the war.—Discouraging conditions.—Trials of Washington.—Surrender of Cornwallis.—Treaty of peace. "*The critical period of American history:*" Weakness of the Confederation.—Framing and adoption of the federal constitution. *The British empire:* Hostilities with France, Spain and Holland.—Wars in India.—Concessions to Ireland.—Industrial revolution in Great Britain. *France:* The approaching political revolution.—Its causes.—Its outbreak.—Meeting of the States-general.—Assumption of supremacy by the third estate.—The Girondists.—The Jacobins.—Overthrow of the monarchy.—Execution of the king.—Fall of the Girondists.—Crusade against all monarchies.—"The reign of terror."—The Jacobin factions devouring one another.—End of "the terror."—Advent of Napoleon Bonaparte.—His campaign in Italy.—His expedition to Egypt, and return.—His domination as first consul. *The Partitioning of Poland:* The three partitions. *The United States of America:* Organization of federal government under Washington.—Financial measures of Hamilton.—Lasting division of political parties.—Troubles with England and France.—Administration of John Adams.—Overthrow of the Federalists. *British America:* The Quebec Act.—United Empire Loyalists.—Act of 1791.

1001–1064

HISTORIC EPOCH VI.

EPOCH OF SCIENCE, MECHANISM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE TRANSFORMING OF THE WORLD.

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE EPOCH

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON TO THE ADVENT OF STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY

(1799 TO 1830)

The days of absolute government numbered.—History assuming a new tenor.—Beginning of a transformation of the world. *The Napoleonic Wars:* Second defeat of Austria.—Reconstruction of Germany.—Napoleon emperor.—Austerlitz and Trafalgar.—Subjugation of Prussia.—Warfare by destruction of trade.—Napoleon's crime against Spain.—The Spanish uprising.—The humiliation of Germany.—The making of Prussia.—Napoleon in Russia.—Beginning of his overthrow. His fall.—His return from Elba.—Waterloo.—St. Helena. *The United States of America during the Napoleonic Wars:* Neutral trade.—Humiliations endured.—Presidency of Jefferson.—The Louisiana purchase.—Wrongs and insults from England and France.—English claim to a right of search.—Madison's presidency.—Napoleon's knavery.—War of 1812 with England.—Beginning of a conscious national life. *Europe after the fall of Napoleon:* The English corn laws.—Reconstruction work of the Congress of Vienna.—The Holy Alliance.—Revolutions of 1820 and 1830.—Ireland and Catholic emancipation. *New departure in social progress:* Effects of steamboat and railway. *The United States after the war of 1812:* Steam navigation.—Canal building.—"The cotton gin."—Its effects on slavery.—Question of slavery in the Territories.—The Missouri compromise.—The "Monroe doctrine." *British America:* Discontent in the Canadas. *Spanish America:* Revolt and Independence of Spanish provinces. *Santo Domingo:* Revolt.—Slave rising.—Toussaint L'Ouverture. *Brazil:* Founding of the independent empire. *Australia:* Growth of New South Wales. *India:* Extension of British Rule. 1102–1170

CHAPTER XXI

FROM THE ADVENT OF GEORGE STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY TO THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(1830 TO 1860)

Era of the railway and the telegraph. *Great Britain:* First reform of parliament.—Opening of the reign of Queen Victoria.—The Chartist movement.—Repeal of corn laws.—Free trade legislation.—Peel.—Gladstone.—Disraeli.—Ireland and O'Connell's agitation. *European Revolutions of 1848 and after:* Italy.—France.—Germany.—Hungary.—*Coup d'etat* of Louis Napoleon.—The Crimean War.—Liberation and unification of Italy. *The United States:* Andrew Jackson president.—Jackson and nullification.—Jackson and the United States Bank.—The financial collapse of 1837.—President Van Buren.—Formation of the Whig party.—Rise of the Abolitionists.—Agitation of the slavery question.—Annexation of Texas.—War with Mexico.—Acquisition of California, New Mexico, etc.—Question of slavery in the new territory.—Compromise of 1850.—Fugitive slave law.—"Uncle Tom's Cabin."—Stephen A. Douglas.—Doctrine of "popular sovereignty."—Kansas-Nebraska bill.—Rise of Republican party.—Struggle for Kansas.—Dred Scott decision.—Lecompton constitution for Kansas.—Douglas Democratic revolt.—Douglas and Lincoln debates.—John Brown's invasion of Virginia.—Election of Abraham Lincoln. *British America:* Rebellion in the Canadas.—Reunion of the two provinces. *Australia and New Zealand:* Founding of the colonies of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand, and Queensland.—Discoveries of gold. *India and Afghanistan:* Tragedy of the Afghan war.—The sepoy revolt. *China:* The "Opium War."—The Tai-ping rebellion.—Second war with England. *Japan:* The Perry expedition.—Opening of ports to foreigners. *South Africa:* Founding of the Boer republics. . . 1171–1230

CHAPTER XXII

FROM THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

(1860 TO 1871)

The United States of America: Secession and confederation of

slave-holding States.—Opening of civil war.—Blockade of Confederate ports.—Battle of Bull Run.—The "Monitor" and the "Merrimac."—Grant's first successes.—McClellan's peninsular campaign.—Rising fame of the Confederate generals Lee and Jackson.—Farragut's capture of New Orleans.—Lee's first invasion of Maryland.—President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.—Dark period of national reverses.—Political opposition in the north.—Outfit of Confederate cruisers in England.—Lee's second movement northward.—Gettysburg.—Vicksburg.—Grant's Chattanooga campaign.—Lincoln's amnesty and plan of reconstruction.—Grant's campaign against Richmond.—Reëlection of Lincoln.—Sherman's march to the sea.—Crumbling and fall of the Confederacy.—End of the war.—Murder of President Lincoln.—Presidency of Andrew Johnson.—His rupture with congress.—Congressional measures of reconstruction and their results.—Period of demoralizations.—Presidency of General Grant.—Settlement of "Alabama" claims. *Events in Europe:* Unification of Italy —Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars.—Unification of Germany in a federal empire.—Federation of Austria-Hungary.—Birth of the third French republic.—Disraeli and Gladstone ministries in Great Britain.—Irish Fenianism.—Revolution in Spain.—Emancipation in Russia.—Russians in Central Asia. *British America:* Confederation of the Dominion of Canada. *Mexico:* French conquest.—Maximilian's empire and its fall. *Egypt:* Ismail Pasha, khedive.—The Suez canal.—*Japan:* Fall of the shogunate.—End of feudalism and the daimiates. . 1231–1276

CHAPTER XXIII

FROM BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF VICTORIA

(1871 TO 1901)

The Peace Conference at The Hague. *Great Britain and Ireland:* Beaconsfield and "jingoism."—The third reform bill.—Gladstone's Irish home rule bills.—Rupture in the Liberal party.—Salisbury ministry.—Pacifying measures for Ireland.—Death of Queen Victoria. *The French Republic:* The Dreyfus agitation.—Public control of education. *The German Empire:* William II.—Imperial egotism.—The new Germany.—Socialistic paternalism. *Russia and her neighbors:* Russo-Turkish war.—Russian treatment of Finland.—Development of Siberia.—Dangerous discontent in the empire. *Japan, China, Korea, and the Russians in eastern Asia:* War between Japan and China.—Treatment of China by western powers.—The "Boxer" outbreak.—Russian designs in

Manchuria. *Egypt and the Sudan:* Foreign control of Egyptian finances.—Arabi's revolt.—British suppression of it.—The "Mahdi" in the Sudan.—Fate of Colonel Gordon.—Egyptian conquest of the Sudan. *The partitioning of Africa:* The Congo Free State.—The Berlin Conference.—Scramble for African territory. *Boer-Briton war:* Its causes and results. *The United States:* Conditions in the south.—Monetary questions.—Greenback and Silver parties.—Tariff questions.—Civil service reform.—War with Spain.—Acquisition and subjugation of the Philippines.—Liberation of Cuba.—Panama Canal.—Material progress.—Imperialistic ambitions. *Elsewhere:* Prosperity in Canada.—Progress under Diaz in Mexico.—Fall of the Brazilian empire.—Confederation of Australian colonies.—Socialistic experiments in New Zealand. 1277-1329

CHAPTER XXIV

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE PRESENT DAY

(A. D. 1901 TO 1914)

The shifting of frontiers.—Spread of democracy. *Great Britain and Ireland:* King Edward VII.—Chamberlain and Tariff Reform. —*Entente cordiale*—King George V.—Power of House of Lords curtailed.—Woman's suffrage.—Growth of imperialism.—Home Rule.—The Ulster crisis. *The French Republic:* Separation of Church and State.—Socialists to the fore.—President Poincaré.—Colonial expansion. *Germany:* Industrial growth.—Naval rivalry. *Austria-Hungary:* Racial conflict.—Bosnia and Herzegovina annexed.—Assassination of Francis Ferdinand. *Russia:* National Duma created.—Agrarian reform.—Russification of Finland and Poland. *Italy:* King Victor Emmanuel III.—Labor troubles.—Pope Pius X.—Tripoli wrested from Turkey. *The Iberian Peninsula:* King Alfonso XIII.—Execution of Ferrer.—Industrial unrest in Spain.—Anticlericalism.—Murder of King Carlos.—Portugal a republic. *Scandinavia:* Dissolution of union between Norway and Sweden.—Nobel Prizes. *Southeastern Europe:* The Belgrade murders.—Bulgarian independence.—The Young Turks.—Abdul Hamid deposed.—Cretan crisis. *The Balkan War:* Turkish defeats.—Assassination of King George of Greece.—Disruption of the Balkan league. *The Second Balkan War:* Bulgaria stripped of her spoils. *Albania:* Prince William of Wied. *Japan:* The Russo-Japanese War. *China:* Crusade against opium.—The Chinese Republic.—Yuan Shih-kai. *The United States:* Roosevelt's second term.—The immigration question.—Californian disaster.—Money panic.—President Taft.—Canadian reciprocity.—Prosecution of the Trusts.—Rise of Progressive party.—Return of Democrats to power. —President Wilson.—Constitutional amendments.—The Philippines. *Latin American Republics:* Mexican revolutions.—American intervention.—Occupation of Vera Cruz. *Elsewhere:* Canadian development.—Australia and New Zealand.—India and Egypt.

ANALYTICAL OUTLINE OF SEVENTY CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION

The Prehistoric Peoples

I

The Epoch of Earliest Civilizations and Known Empires

(To the Persian Invasions of Greece)

I. From the Earliest Known Records to the Supposed Age of Abraham
(Approximately, B. C. 4700 to 2200)

II. From the Supposed Age of Abraham to the Death of David
(Approximately, B. C. 2200 to 960)

III. From the Death of David to the Advent of Cyrus
(Approximately, B. C. 960 to 558)

IV. From the Advent of Cyrus to the Age of Xerxes
(B. C. 558 to 480)

II

The Epoch of the Greeks and the Romans

(From the Persian Invasions of Greece to the Gothic Capture of Rome)

V. From the Age of Xerxes to the Age of Hannibal
(B. C. 480 to 200)

VI. From the Age of Hannibal to the Death of Cæsar
(B. C. 200 to 44)

VII. From the Death of Cæsar to the Death of Alaric
(B. C. 44 to A. D. 410)

III

The Epoch of the New Nations, Known as the Middle Ages

(From the Gothic Capture of Rome to the Turkish Capture of Constantinople)

VIII. From the Death of Alaric to the Advent of Charlemagne
(A. D. 410 to 768)

IX. From the Advent of Charlemagne to the Death of Hildebrand
(A. D. 768 to 1085)

X. From the Death of Hildebrand to the Exile of Dante
(A. D. 1085 to 1302)

XI. From the Exile of Dante to the Advent of Gutenberg
(A. D. 1302 to 1454)

XII. The Historical World at the End of the Middle Ages
(The Fifteenth Century)

IV

The Epoch of Modernizing Expansions, Called the Renaissance

(From the Turkish Capture of Constantinople to the Preludes of Revolution in England)

XIII. From the Advent of Gutenberg to the Advent of Luther
(A. D. 1454 to 1517)

XIV. From the Advent of Luther to the Abdication of the Emperor Charles V.
(A. D. 1517 to 1556)

XV. From the Abdication of the Emperor Charles V. to the Assassination of Henry IV. of France
(A. D. 1556 to 1610)

V

The Epoch of Political Revolutions

(From the Preludes of Revolution in England to the Napoleonizing of the Revolution in France)

XVI. From the Assassination of Henry IV. of France to the Death of Cromwell
(1610 to 1658)

XVII. From the Death of Cromwell to the Death of Louis XIV. of France
(1658 to 1715)

XVIII. From the Death of Louis XIV. of France to the Advent of Washington in the American Revolution
(1715 to 1775)

XIX. From the Advent of Washington in the American Revolution to his Death
(1775 to 1799)

VI

The Epoch of Science, Mechanism, Democracy, and the Transforming of the World

(From the Napoleonizing of the French Revolution to the Present Day)

XX. From the Death of Washington to the Advent of Stephenson and the Steam Railway
(1799 to 1830)

XXI. From the Advent of George Stephenson to the Election of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States
(1830 to 1860)

XXII. From the Election of Abraham Lincoln to Bismarck's founding of the German Empire
(1860 to 1871)

XXIII. From Bismarck's Founding of the German Empire to the Death of Victoria
(1871 to 1901)

XXIV. From the Death of Victoria to the Present Day

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. THE ACROPOLIS, FROM THE SOUTHWEST, *Frontispiece to Vol. I*
   From a photograph

Facing Page

2. PTAH-HETEP 24
   From The Archæological Survey of Egypt, Eighth Memoir, Plate XXVI
3. THOTHMES III 24
   From the statue in the Turin Museum
4. AMENHOTEP IV 24
   From the statuette in the Louvre
5. RAMSES II 24
   From the Eleventh Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, Plate X
6. MOSES 30
   From the statue by Michael Angelo (1475–1564) made for the tomb of Pope Julius II, in the San Pietro in Vinculi, Rome
7. DAVID 30
   The head of the colossal statue by Michael Angelo, known as the "David of the Piazza," which stood uncovered upon the steps of the Palazzo Vecchio, in Florence, from 1504 to 1873, when it was removed to its present position in the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence
8. GOTAMA 30
   From the ancient statue
9. SAPPHO 30
   Bust in the Villa Albani, Rome
10. LYCURGUS 32
    Bust in the National Museum, Naples
11. SOLON 32
    Bust in the National Museum, Naples

Facing Page

12. MILTIADES 32
Bust in the Louvre, Paris

13. THEMISTOCLES 32
Bust in the Vatican, Rome

14. HAMMURABI 54
From Memoire de la Delegation en Perse, Plate IV

15. ISRAEL IN EGYPT 68
From the painting by Sir Edward J. Poynter, R. A. (1836–)

16. HOMER 92
From the painting by François Pascal Gérard (1770–1837)

17. ARCH OF TEMPLE OF RAMSES IV . 120
From a French photograph of the "Porte Triomphe" of the Temple of Ramses IV., at Karnak, Thebes

18. ALEXANDER THE GREAT 185
Head of statue in the Glyptohek, Munich

19. PERICLES 185
Bust in the British Museum, London

20. SOCRATES 185
Bust in the Capitol, Rome

21. PLATO 185
Bust in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

22. ARISTOTLE 188
Bust in the Hall Collection

23. ÆSCHYLUS 188
Bust in the Capitol, Rome

24. THUCYDIDES 188
Bust in the National Museum, Naples

25. PTOLEMY SOTER 188
From an ancient coin

26. DEMOSTHENES 195
Statue in the Vatican, Rome

Facing page

27. HANNIBAL 195
Bust in the National Museum, Naples

28. CICERO 195
Bust in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

29. JULIUS CÆSAR 198
Bust in the National Museum, Naples

30. AUGUSTUS 198
"The Crowned Augustus." Bust in the Vatican, Rome

31. MARK ANTONY 198
Bust in the Louvre, Paris

32. VIRGIL 198
Bust in the Capitol, Rome

33. TACITUS 204
An Antique bust

34. MARCUS AURELIUS 204
Bust in the Capitol, Rome

35. TRAJAN 204
Bust in the Vatican, Rome

36. ANTONINUS PIUS 204
Bust in the British Museum, London

37. "DEATH OF ALEXANDER" . . 222
From the painting by Karl von Piloty (1826–1886) now in the National Gallery. Berlin

38. "CICERO AGAINST CATILINE" . . 266
From the painting by Cæsare Maccari (1840–)

39. "CHRIST BEFORE PILATE" *Frontispiece to Vol. II*
From the painting by Mihály Munkácsy (1844–1900) owned by John Wanamaker

40. "RETURN OF GERMANS AFTER BATTLE IN TEUTOBERG FOREST" . . . 283
From the painting by Paul Thumann (1834–), now in the Gymnasium, Minden

Facing page

41. "PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS" . 292
One of the cartoons made by Raphael (1483–1520) as designs for decoration of the Sistine Chapel. The cartoons are now in the South Kensington Museum, London

42. "DIANA, OR CHRIST?" 310
From the painting by Edwin Long, R. A. (1824–1881)

43. MOHAMMED 340
From an old print; likeness traditional

44. POPE GREGORY I 340
From an engraving in the British Museum, London

45. ALFRED THE GREAT 340
From an engraving by G. Longhi (1776–1831), in the Hall Collection

46. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR . . 340
From a copy of a painting from an ancient effigy

47. RICHARD I 348
From an engraving by Vertue (1684–1756)

48. HENRY II 348
From an engraving by Vertue

49. ST. FRANCIS 348
Copy of an old engraving in the Hall Collection, from the Spanish picture after the authentic portrait which is in the Cathedral of Toledo, Spain

50. EDWARD I 348
From an engraving by Vertue

51. LOUIS IX 351
From a fresco by Giotto (1266–1357), in the church of Santa Croce, Florence

52. FREDERICK II 351
From an engraving by J. Outrier

53. HENRY V 351
From the bust in Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey

Facing page

54. JEANNE D'ARC 351
From a painting in the Louvre

55. WICLIF 354
From an engraving by C. White

56. DANTE 354
From the painting by Raphael (1483–1520). After Dante's death a mask was taken, in plaster, of the face. Raphael painted Dante after the mask likeness in two of his principal works

57. PETRARCH 354
From the painting by Tofanelli

58. CHAUCER 354
From the portrait by Krämer

59. "PILLAGE OF A ROMAN VILLA BY HUNS" 360
From the painting by Georges Rochegrosse

60. CHARLEMAGNE 400
From the portrait by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), now in the German Museum, Nuremberg

61. "HENRY IV AT CANOSSA" . . . 424
From the painting by Eduard Schwoisser (1827–) in the Maximilianeum, Munich

62. "PETER THE HERMIT PREACHING THE FIRST CRUSADE" 439
From the painting by James Archer (1824–)

63. "ST. LOUIS ADMINISTERING JUSTICE" 481
From a mural painting in the Pantheon, by Alexandre Cabanel (1823–1889)

64. "COLUMBUS AT COURT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA" . *Frontispiece to Vol. III*
From the painting by Vaczlav Brozik (1852–1900)

65. SHAKESPEARE 630
"The Janssen Portrait," said to have been painted by Cornelius Janssen (1592–1662) for the Earl of Southampton

Facing page

66. GUTENBERG 632
From an ancient print

67. COLUMBUS 632
From the painting in the Marine Museum, Madrid

68. COPERNICUS 632
From an old engraving

69. BACON 632
From an engraving by Jacobus Houbraken (1698–1780)

70. CERVANTES 634
From the portrait by Josef del Castillo (1737–1793), who made the drawings for the edition of "Don Quixote" published by the Madrid Academy

71. RAPHAEL 634
"In Youth." From the original painting made in 1506–7 by Raphael himself (1493–1520), now in the Gallery at Florence

72. MICHAEL ANGELO 634
From the original painting in the Hall Collection, by Michael Angelo himself (1475–1564)

73. LORENZO DE' MEDICI 634
From the painting by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), now in the Uffizi Palace, Florence

74. SAVONAROLA 639
From the painting by Fra Bartolommeo (1475–1517), now in the Museum of St. Mark, Florence

75. LUTHER 639
From the portrait by Lucas Cranach (1472–1553), now in the Berlin Museum

76. ERASMUS 639
From the painting by Hans Holbein (1497–1543), in the Louvre, Paris

77. LOYOLA 639
From the painting by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), now in the Gallery at Vienna

78. CHARLES V 650
From the painting by Titian (1477–1576)

Facing page

79. HENRY IV 650
From a painting in the Louvre

80. WILLIAM THE SILENT 650
From the painting by M. J. Miereveldt (1567–1641), now in The Hague Gallery

81. SIR WALTER RALEIGH 650
From the engraving by Jacobus Houbraken (1698–1780)

82. "LUTHER AT THE DIET AT WORMS" . 695
From the painting by Anton A. Von Werner (1834–), now in the Museum at Stuttgart

83. "MARY STUART RECEIVING DEATH SENTENCE" 786
From the painting by Karl von Piloty (1826–1886), now in the new Pinakothek, Munich

84. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS 814
From the painting by Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641)

85. HAMPDEN 814
From an engraving by Houbraken from the original painting in the possession of Sir Richard Ellys, Bart.

86. CROMWELL 814
From the painting made in 1653 by Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), now in the Pitti Gallery, Florence

87. EARL OF STRAFFORD 814
From the painting by Van Dyck

88. LAUD 823
From the painting by Van Dyck, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg

89 RICHELIEU 823
From the painting by Philippe de Champaigne (1602–1674), now in the Louvre, Paris

90. PETER THE GREAT 823
From an engraving by Houbraken from the painting by Karel de Moor (1656–1738)

Facing page

91. PENN 823
"The Place Portrait." From the painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, by H. J. Wright, after the original painted by Francis Place in 1696, when Penn was 52 years of age, owned by R. H. Allen, Blackwell Hall, Durham, England

92. FREDERICK II., THE GREAT. . . 828
From the painting by Antoine Pesne (1684–1757), now in the Berlin Museum

93. EARL OF CHATHAM 828
From an engraving by Richard Houston (1721–1775)

94. SAMUEL ADAMS 828
From the original painting by John Singleton Copley, R.A. (1737–1815), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, representing Adams in 1771, at the age of 49

95. HAMILTON 828
From the original painting by John Trumbull (1756–1843), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

96. MIRABEAU 832
From the painting by J. Guerin (1774–1823)

97. WESLEY 832
From the painting by John Jackson, R.A. (1778–1831)

98. GOETHE 832
"At Eighty." From the painting for which Goethe sat in his eightieth year. "The favorite portrait of Goethe"

99. VOLTAIRE 832
From the bust by Houdon, at Versailles

100. "MILTON DICTATING PARADISE LOST". 834
From the original painting, made in 1878, by Mihály Munkácsy (1844–1900), now in the Public Library, New York

101. BURKE 836
From the painting by George Romney (1734–1802)

Facing page

102. KANT 836
From the painting by Johan C. Schnorr Von Karolsfeld (1764–1841), now in the Gallery at Dresden

103. NEWTON 836
From the painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), now in Hampton Court Palace

104. JAMES WATT 836
From the bust by Sir F. Chantrey, R.A.

105. "CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL" . . 854
From the painting by Julius Schrader (1815–)

106. WASHINGTON . . *Frontispiece to Vol. IV*
From the original painting, made in 1796, by Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), known as the "Athenaeum Portrait," now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

107. FRANKLIN 971
From the original painting by Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), now in the Public Library, Boston

108. "PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY" 989
From the painting by Peter F. Rothermel (1817–1895), now in the Academy at Philadelphia

109. "DEATH OF EARL OF CHATHAM" . 991
From the painting made in 1779–80 by John Singleton Copley, R.A. (1737–1815), now in the National Gallery, London

110. "WASHINGTON RESIGNING COMMAND OF THE ARMY" 1018
From the painting by John Trumbull (1756–1843), now in the Rotunda of the Capitol, at Washington

111. "LAST VICTIMS OF REIGN OF TERROR" 1038
From the painting by Charles Louis Müller (1815–1892), now in the Louvre, Paris

112. GEORGE STEPHENSON 1073
From the painting by H. P. Briggs, R.A. (1792–1844)

Facing page

113. EDISON 1073
From a photograph from life

114. BESSEMER 1073
From a photograph from life

115. PASTEUR 1073
From a photograph from life

116. DARWIN 1081
From a photograph from life

117. WORDSWORTH 1081
From the painting by Benjamin R. Haydon (1786–1848)

118. VICTOR HUGO 1081
From a photograph from life

119. TENNYSON 1081
From a protrait by P. Krämer

120. LONGFELLOW 1086
From a portrait by P. Krämer

121. DICKENS 1086
From a photograph from life

122. CARLYLE 1086
From a photograph from life

123. MARY BAKER EDDY 1086
From a photograph from life

124. NAPOLEON 1091
From the painting by Jacques Louis David (1747–1825), in Warwick Castle

125. PITT 1091
From the painting by Anton Hickel (1745–1798)

126. JEFFERSON 1091
From original painting by Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), in the rooms of Historical Society, New York City

Facing page

127. ANDREW JACKSON 1091
From the original portrait painted in 1845 by G. P. A. Healy (1813–1895)

128. JOHN MARSHALL 1094
From an engraving

129. GARIBALDI 1094
From a photograph from life

130. GLADSTONE 1094
From a photograph from life

131. CALHOUN 1094
From a photograph from life

132. JEFFERSON DAVIS 1097
From a photograph from life

133. GENERAL LEE 1097
From a photograph from life

134. GENERAL GRANT 1097
From a photograph from life

135. FARRAGUT 1097
From a photograph from life

136. COUNT DI CAVOUR 1098
From the original painting by Metzmacher

137. BISMARCK 1098
From a photograph from life

138. MOLTKE 1098
From a photograph from life

139. JOHN BRIGHT 1098
From a photograph from life

140. "SUMMONS TO WATERLOO" 1118
From a reproduction of the original painting

141. LINCOLN . . *Frontispiece to Vol. V*
From a photograph from life by Brady

142. "CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA" . 1177
From the painting by E. T. Pavis

Facing page

143. "EMPEROR WILLIAM I." . . . 1263
From the painting by Emil J. Hunten (1827–1902), of the Emperor's staff

144. THEODORE ROOSEVELT . . . 1325
From a photograph from life

145. WOODROW WILSON 1325
From a photograph from life

146. WILLIAM J. BRYAN 1325
From a photograph from life

147. PORFIRIO DIAZ 1325
From a photograph from life

148. RAYMOND POINCARÉ 1336
From a photograph from life

149. YUAN SKAI-KAI. 1336
From a photograph from life

150. ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN . . . 1336
From a photograph from life

151. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE . . . 1336
From a photograph from life

152. WILLIAM II 1347
From a photograph from life

153. KING GEORGE V 1347
From a photograph from life

154. YOSHIHITO, THE MIKADO . . . 1347
From a photograph from life

155. PIUS X 1347
From a photograph from life

156. FRANCISCO I. MADERO . . . 1358
From a photograph from life

157. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA . . . 1358
From a photograph from life

158. VICTORIANO HUERTA . . . 1358
From a photograph from life

159. PANCHO VILLA 1358
From a photograph from life

INTRODUCTION

THE PREHISTORIC PEOPLES

Historic and prehistoric knowledge.—The unrecorded period of human life in different countries.—The paleolithic stage of primitive culture.—Flint-working and other arts in the "Old Stone Age."—The geological period of that Age.—Glacial and interglacial times.—Intermixed remains of arctic and tropical life.—The neolithic stage of culture, or "New Stone Age."—Remains of its arts.—Lake-dwellings in Europe.—The finding of metals.—Copper, bronze and iron.—Genesis of variations in the human species.—What is fundamental in the racial differences?—Classification of men by color.—Classification by language.—The Aryan hypothesis.—Searchings for the primitive Aryan home.—Classification by forms of the human skull.—The "cephalic index."—Long-heads and broad-heads.—Blondes and brunettes.—Prevalence of certain physical features in different parts of the world.—Various hypotheses relative to the primitive peopling of Europe.

Our knowledge of mankind in the past divides naturally into two kinds, namely: (1) that which men of departed generations have transmitted to us consciously, in decipherable writing, which records and communicates more or less of their names, their doings, their experiences, or their thoughts; and (2) that which we draw by inference from such mute relics and tokens of vanished peoples as we sometimes fine buried and preserved by chance in the earth. The former is *History*, in the sense now given to the term. The latter affords nothing of a story of human life; it acquaints us with no events, no persons, no names, no definable periods of time. It only informs us that most regions of the globe have been occupied, at some indefinite remote time, by nameless primitive races, about whose circumstances in life and modes of living we may conjecture something, from the works and marks

Historic and prehistoric knowledge

they have left, but of whom we learn nothing more.

That unrecorded stage in the life of humanity, known only by inference from its remains, and described as *prehistoric*, has ended in different countries at widely different times. In America, for example, there is no present knowledge of any recorded history prior to the European discovery; but mysterious inscriptions are found in southern Mexico and in some of the Central American states which many students are striving to decipher, and which may hereafter shed light on a past that is now extremely dark. In the British islands, in middle and northern France, in Germany and the Netherlands, the prehistoric age was ended only by Cæsar's conquests, nearly at the beginning of our Christian era. On the other hand, in Egypt, inscriptions on stone have been brought to light lately which supply an actual record of historical names and facts from a time that appears to be hardly less than 7,000 years ago; and relics of workmanship from generations far earlier have been found in the same marvelous land. Further eastward, in the valley of the Euphrates, excavations now in progress are unearthing an abundance of writings, graven on stone or impressed on tablets and cylinders of baked clay, which tell of a civilization that flourished in that Babylonian region very nearly fifty centuries before Christ; and nothing yet discovered reaches back to a prehistoric time when no form of writing was known. This great exten-

Historic America

Historic Western Europe

Historic Egypt and Babylonia

sion backward of known records has occurred in both Egypt and Babylonia within a few recent years, as the result of patient, careful and costly labor in uncovering the long buried ruins of ancient cities in the east. Similar labors are bearing nearly or quite as rich fruits in other parts of the eastern world, bringing to light many monuments and much writing that is older by far than scholars had believed to exist. Thus the line of division between prehistorical and historical knowledge of the past is not to be looked upon as fixed for any region of the earth until every possible hiding place of decipherable writing has been explored. So far as now appears, there is nothing to encourage searching in western Europe or in America for records older than those known already; but almost everywhere in Asia, in northern and eastern Africa, and in southeastern Europe, the probabilities of continued success in such quests are very great.

Archæological exploration

The Paleolithic Stage of Culture

The oldest traces of man, wherever found, show him in a state which corresponds to that of the lower savages of the present day. Through what still ruder stages of existence, prolonged through what stretches of time, he may have been passing before any durable traces of his life became marked on the earth, is a subject of speculation that will not be taken up here. It is plain that he could leave no signs of his existence behind him until he had learned to make something,

Geikie, *Prehistoric Europe*

marked plainly with his handiwork, and not subject to quick decay nor easily destroyed. The learning of that primitive lesson appears to have happened everywhere in about the same way. It began with the discovery that flints and other stones might be chipped and splintered into useful forms for cutting, scraping, and the like, or into weapons with deadly edges and points. A flint spear-head, perhaps, was one of the earliest products of this great discovery. Later, possibly by centuries, came the invention of the bow, and the tipping of its arrows with flint. By that time many simple arts would most likely have been attained, but practiced on materials that perished, for the most part, very soon, while the products of the flint-working endured. Hence it is that the surviving tokens of primeval mankind are chiefly in weapons, implements and utensils of flint and other stones. These are found in all parts of the world, so buried in deposits of gravel, or in the stalagmite floors of caves,—often mingled with the bones of extinct animals,—that geologists incline to estimate their antiquity by hundreds of thousands of years.

Flint-working

Antiquity of man

From their first rude working of flints, these men of the primeval world went on to the making of such implements as needles, awls, daggers, fish-hooks and harpoon heads out of bone, horn and ivory, leaving specimens which show an increasing skill, and a slow progress in the invention of new tools and utensils, giving proof of a growing consciousness of wants and a growing ambition to

Primitive invention and art

find means for satisfying such wants. Strangely, too, they were developing a remarkable artistic sense, displayed in surprisingly well drawn pictures of animals, etched or engraved on pieces of horn and tusk.

These things, found together, in deposits which can be arranged geologically in their order of succession, and approximately in time, represent, beyond a reasonable doubt, a state of culture that prevailed for an immensely long period, the antiquity of the beginning of which can only be guessed. It is the period which archæologists have agreed to call the "paleolithic" or "old stone" age of human culture, when men, having knowledge of no better material than stone for tools and weapons, had not yet learned to smooth or polish the stone, but only chipped it into shape. The grinding of their stone implements to a smooth surface and a more perfect form was a late improvement, and has been taken to mark the introduction of another epoch in the education of primitive men, called the "neolithic" or "new stone" age.

The Old Stone Age

The New Stone Age

The deposits in which remains of paleolithic men are found belong to the geological period called pleistocene or quaternary. It was the period in which the surface of the earth acquired substantially its present features, seas, continents and islands passing through a long series of extensive changes, resulting, at the end, in very nearly their present forms. At some stage of those changes the Mediterranean appears to have been

bridged at some points by elevations of land which joined Europe to Africa; the British islands were united in like manner to the continent; the Channel and the North Sea must, practically, have disappeared. Extraordinary climatic changes were occurring at the same time. Ages of arctic cold, in northwestern Europe and northeastern America, alternated with ages of more genial warmth than those regions have known since. In the latter time, plants and animals from tropical Africa spread northwards into Europe, as far, at least, as to southern England and northern France. In the former, arctic animals and plants were spread southwards to the Pyrenees. Numerous remains of animals brought by each of these alternating movements into France, England, and elsewhere,—the lion, hyena, elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, mammoth, bear, musk-sheep, glutton, reindeer, urus, and others, some of them extinct long ago,—are found mixed with the relics of paleolithic men, showing that the latter lived through some if not all of that long lasting glacial and interglacial time. It is supposed that they retreated southwards during the ages when northern and middle Europe was covered with glacial ice, and returned with the returning warmth.

Glacial and interglacial periods

The Neolithic Stage of Culture

According to geological indications, all tokens of the paleolithic stage of primitive culture disappear, in the European part of the world, at about

the time of the ending of the last glacial age. Then, in post-glacial deposits, relics of that next stage of culture called neolithic begin to show themselves, rarely mixed with even the slightest traces of paleolithic remains. Many students of the subject are convinced that the two epochs called paleolithic and neolithic were separated in western Europe by a considerable period of time; that the people whose remains mark the former were expelled or became extinct, and were succeeded by a new race, more advanced, which came in from the southeast or the south. Others, including Professor Huxley, whose opinion carries great weight, question the sufficiency of the proof of such a break in the prehistoric life of man in western Europe, and incline to believe that the men who chipped their stone implements into shape were the ancestors of the men who ground and polished them, and who had made progress in other ways.

Huxley, *Collected Essays*, 7:318

Of the presence of man immediately after the ending of the glacial epoch,—at the beginning, that is, of the chapter in geological history called "Recent,"—the tokens are abundant almost everywhere. The earth had then received substantially the features and the climate of to-day, and the distribution of animals and plants was much the same as now. Whatever the fact elsewhere, Europe in general is found then to have been inhabited by men who had risen out of the paleolithic depth of savagery, but who knew of nothing better for tools and weapons than stone.

That they ground their stone implements to smooth surfaces and edges is but one trifling mark of the progress they had made. They had learned to obtain fire at will, by the striking of flints or the friction of wood. They were learning the arts of the potter and the weaver; were beginning to till the earth; had domesticated some animals; were living in communities together; were constructing dwellings for themselves, and were carefully burying their dead. The graves in which some of their dead were entombed, with the body inclosed in a case or chamber, formed of several flat stones placed loosely together, are the commonest and most interesting of the memorials they have left. Most of those ancient graves are covered with a heap of stones or earth, forming what is called a barrow or cairn. In frequent instances, however, the covering mound has disappeared, and the rude stone burial-cell is exposed. In this state it is known as a cromlech or dolmen (signifying table-stone). Such, at least, is the probable origin of the great number of dolmen structures that are found in southern, western, and northern Europe, in northern Africa, and in Asia over large parts of the southwest. But all are not held to be the work of neolithic men. The same modes of burial, with construction improved and chambers elaborated, were continued beyond the stone age of culture, after metals had come into use.

Neolithic arts and culture

Dolmen structures

In the Alpine regions of Switzerland, northern Italy, and southern Germany, there are prehistoric remains of a most interesting class, known

as lake-dwellings, which represent the whole neolithic period, from its earliest to its latest stage of culture, and which carry the representation farther, even down to historic times. These habitations were constructed on piles in the shallow shore-waters of the mountain lakes, which gave them a certain degree of protection from human enemies and wild beasts. In the mud of the lake-bottoms where they stood, all the refuse of the household, and all the many things that fell by accident into the waters, were caught and kept, and furnish now a perfect museum of the equipments of that lacustrine life, from its first century to its last.

Lake dwellings

The duration of the neolithic period of human development varied, evidently, in different regions, and was less, at the most, than the æons of time during which men lingered in the so-called paleolithic stage. Nevertheless, long ages must have passed before metals—first copper in its natural state (of little worth for practical purposes to the primitive man), and then copper hardened into bronze by an admixture of tin—were brought into use. That this occurred in countries beyond the Mediterranean before any people in Europe found the metals secreted in their ores, appears to be more than probable; and formerly it was assumed that the use of copper and bronze, followed later by the use of iron, came to Europe from the east. Now there is a growing opinion that the primitive metallurgy in some parts of Europe was an art independently acquired. It made its way

The finding of metals

from one to another people, as trading between them was developed, and may not have reached the British islands and the northern extremities of the continent very long before the opening to them of the historic era. Iron was unknown in America before the coming of the Europeans; but the more advanced of the native races were acquainted with copper and bronze, tin, lead, silver and gold.

Divisions of the Human Race

Ethnologists find reason to believe that the variations in the human species, which produced the different stocks or families of mankind now peopling the earth, had their genesis as far back in geologic time as the paleolithic period, and were evolved before the neolithic stage had been reached in any part of the world. Singular differences of opinion are found, however, and singular changes of view have occurred, as to what is and what is not fundamental in the variations of the human race. Color was accepted first, without question, as the basis of classification, and all humanity was divided into five great families, namely: the white or pale-skinned peoples, called Caucasians; the yellow-skinned Asiatics, or Mongolians; the blacks of central Africa and of some South Sea islands; the red aborigines of America, and the brown Malayans of south-eastern Asia and the contiguous seas. Then attention was turned to relationships of language, which seemed to have more meaning than the

Keane, *Ethnology*, ch. 8-10

Classification of men by color

Classification by language

differing colors of skin. Philology, for a time, took ethnology in hand, and grouped the peoples of the globe by their speech. It found one great growth of language in Europe and parts of Asia, branching into many variants, but carrying the same structural form into all; and this Aryan form of speech, as the philologists named it, was taken for a mark of kinship among the many peoples to whose tongues it belonged. Another such development of varied languages having one structural form was found in southwestern Asia, and called Semitic, because supposed to have sprung from the speech of the children of Shem; while a third, very doubtfully distinguished from it, was traced in the neighboring regions of Africa, and attributed to an origin in the family of Ham. The languages in these three divisions—Aryan, Semitic and Hamitic—are alike in the grammatical feature called "inflection," and contrasted thereby with a greater multitude of so-called "agglutinative" languages, which were classed together as Turanian in the older philological schemes.

Aryan languages

Semitic languages

Hamitic languages

Turanian languages

Languages of the Aryan group include the Sanscrit and the Zend (with all that came from them in ancient and modern India and Iran,) the noble speech of the Greeks, the Latin of Rome, and the many tongues of all the nations known as Celtic, Teutonic and Slavic in modern times. A generation ago there was almost no questioning of the theory of a common ancestry for the peoples —Hindus, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans,

The Aryan hypothesis

Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, Scandinavians, Dutchmen, Englishmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, Scots, Russians, Poles, and others,—whose languages grew plainly from the common roots of Aryan speech. They were looked upon as forming one great Indo-European or Indo-Germanic family of mankind, apart from other families, and dominant among them by virtue of some superior quality of race. There was disputation only concerning the primitive Aryan home, where the great race was cradled, and whence it was supposed to have swarmed forth, in successive hosts, at long intervals, to acquire in different lands the different characteristics of the Hindu, the Greek, the Roman, the Celt, the German and the Slav. For a time there was general agreement with Professor Max Müller, who thought it possible to trace the Aryas of antiquity to a first dwelling place on the high plains at the north of the Hindu Kush mountains; but other philologists found reasons equally cogent for looking elsewhere, in northern or eastern Europe, especially; and now there appears to be little hope of tracking the Aryan tongues to their primal source.

Supposed primitive Aryan home

Gradually, the whole theory of the undertaking to find relationships of race by relationships of language was shaken by many criticisms. The large and uncertain extent to which languages have been spread in some cases and extinguished in others, by conquest, or by intermixture of peoples, was taken more into account. New

schools of anthropology and ethnology have been breaking away from the philological influence, and looking to physical features once more for the marks of racial kinship. In some views the color of skin has regained more significance, especially as connected with the color of eyes and the color and texture of hair, in differentiating the pale-skinned peoples into blondes and brunettes.

Classification by forms of skull

But anthropological studies are now attentive mainly to differences of form in the human skull. The difference most marked and chiefly dealt with by the majority of anthropologists is that which appears in the length of skull compared with its breadth. By adopting a fixed rule of comparative measurement, denoting what is called the "cephalic index," those who pursue these cranial investigations in many countries are accumulating statistical data from which interesting conclusions, not always in harmony, are drawn. The "cephalic index" of a head is the percentage of its breadth above the ears to its length from forehead to back. Those heads in which the percentage rises above 80 are termed *brachycephalic*, or broad-heads; those in which it falls below 75 are called *dolichocephalic*, or long-heads; the intermediate measurement is described as *mesocephalic*. Almost every population contains more or less of long-heads and broad-heads in intermixture; but one or the other seems natively predominant, always, and with marked appearances of some meaning in the fact.

Long heads and broad heads

Among the conclusions drawn from the present

showing of anthropological statistics, the most important, perhaps, are these:—

The Dolichocephalic peoples

That the long form of head prevailed among the primitive inhabitants of Europe; that it prevailed among the Semitic and Hamitic peoples of antiquity and among the ancient Greeks and Romans; and that it is prevalent now (among the natives) in Africa, Australia, the Melanesian islands, southern Asia, southern Italy, Spain, northern Germany, Scandinavia and the British islands.

The Brachycephalic peoples

That the broad or rounded form of head is prevalent in central and eastern Europe and throughout most of Asia, north of the Himalayan and connected mountain ranges.

Black and white long heads

That no special association of head-forms with skin colors is discoverable, unless in the fact that broad heads and yellow skins go together in the Asiatic world; but the blackest of Africans and the blondest of Europeans are equally of the long-headed type.

European blondes and brunettes

That blondness and brunetness in Europe (skin, eyes, and hair all considered) are graduated by latitude,—the former most marked in the north, the latter in the south; but the brunette type prevails in central Europe, where the people with broad heads are most numerous.

Coloring causes

That all differences of color, in skin, eyes and hair, had their probable origin in external influences, acting upon numberless generations, through vast periods of time, and that climatic temperature, as affected by latitude, altitude and

humidity, has been the chiefly potent cause.

From such data as these, various hypotheses concerning the prehistoric origin or composition of the historic peoples of Europe have been framed. On one hypothesis, the blondes and brunettes of the present European population are supposed to represent two stocks or two branches of a stock that existed once in entire separation, but which have become greatly commingled, especially in southern Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and northern and central France. It supposes the people of the brunette type to have been the older inhabitants, and those of the blonde type to have been later comers—invaders probably from the southeast—who brought a higher culture, and who brought the modes of speech called Aryan by our modern philologists, which became in time the speech of all, both brunettes and blondes, but varied in different regions, reached by different movements of the invading race. In this view the European peoples, within historic times, have been generally the product of a mixture of two older stocks, with a greater present purity of blood on the side of the blonde stock in the north and on that of the brunette stock in the south.

Blonde and brunette theory

Huxley, *Collected Essays*, 7:270

Another hypothesis, based substantially on the "cephalic index," leads to the same belief in an early fusion of two races, but reverses conclusions as to which parts of Europe retained most of the aboriginal stock and which were surrendered most fully to the invasion. It assumes that western

Europe was occupied, extensively, if not wholly, in the stone age, by a race of the dolichocephalic or long-headed type, which came into it from Africa; that the existing blonde long-headed Teutonic race of northern Europe represents one variety of that aboriginal stock, and the brunette long-headed peoples on both shores of the Mediterranean, in Europe and Africa, represent another variety; that another race, of the brachycephalic or broad-headed type, and Asiatic in its affinities, came later into the western European field, mastered its middle regions, and were in fact the people known as Celts; that others of the same type, remaining in eastern Europe, are represented by the modern Slavs. This theory, which Africanizes the Teutonic peoples and breaks them from all relationship to Asian Slavs and Celts, leaves the relationship of languages unexplained.

Long head and broad head theory

Ripley, *Races of Europe* p. 467 and others

A third hypothesis coincides with this second one in part, but starts from different premises. Its author and main supporter, Professor Sergi, is convinced that cranial forms are infallible marks of race; but the differences to which he looks are not so simple as those between long and broad heads. He has elaborated a classification of forms — ovoid, ellipsoid, pentagonoid, etc.— which are guides, he maintains, to an unquestionable determination of all affinities of race. The main conclusions to which they guide him are these: That the whole basin of the Mediterranean was occupied in neolithic times, and more or less

Sergi's cranial theory

in the paleolithic period, by peoples of one stock, which had its origin in Africa, probably in the region of the great African lakes; that the ancient Egyptians and Libyans, of North Africa, and the Iberians, Ligurians, Etruscans, and Pelasgians, of primitive Spain, Italy and Greece, were all from that common stock, and formed, together, a "Mediterranean race;" that central and northern Europe was peopled by a branch of the same; that these primitive "Eurafricans," as they are styled, were subjugated, but not supplanted, by invasions of more barbarous peoples from Asia,—from the family of the Aryas—with whom they became mixed in varying proportions, and whose language they adopted with varying modifications and transformations, producing the Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic and Slavonic nations and tongues of historic times.

Eurafricans

Sergi, *The Mediterranian Race*

Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, lect's 4-5

That these questions of race and racial origin can ever be taken out of the region of speculation and controversy, and brought to rest on accepted grounds of scientific research and reasoning, appears now to be a matter of grave doubt.

HISTORIC EPOCHS

I

THE EPOCH OF EARLIEST CIVILIZATIONS AND KNOWN EMPIRES

(TO THE PERSIAN INVASIONS OF GREECE)

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FIRST EPOCH

CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS TO THE SUPPOSED AGE OF ABRAHAM

CHAPTER II

FROM THE SUPPOSED AGE OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF DAVID

CHAPTER III

FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE ADVENT OF CYRUS

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE ADVENT OF CYRUS TO THE AGE OF XERXES

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FIRST EPOCH

The unique distinction of being the first of all men to be named to us, not by the voice of tradition, but by writing done in his own day, seems to belong either to Mena, the first pharaoh of Egypt, or to one En-shag-kush-ana, who reigned in the lower part of the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers at an extremely early day, styling himself "Lord of Kengi." Clearer knowledge and further discovery of primitive inscriptions may take this peculiar distinction from both.

Mena and En-shag-kush-ana B. C. 4800 4500(?)

If recent computations of Egyptian chronology are approximately correct, an interval of about eight centuries lies between Mena and the pharaoh Khufu (the Cheops of the Greeks), who, by the building of the "great pyramid" of Gizeh, may be said to have been the first of men to leave an enduring mark of himself and his work, sufficiently notable to give fame to his name.

Khufu B. C. 4000 3700(?)

In the other valley-field of primitive history, where the Tigris and Euphrates flow together, the first conspicuous figure to be lighted up by contemporary records is Shargina or Sargon, who appears to have been the pioneer of empire-making in that part of the world.

Sargon B. C. 3800(?)

A character of much more interest than these is brought to our acquaintance next, by the preservation of the oldest known book in the world,—

Ptah-hetep B. C. 3500(?)

a book of moral precepts, dating from about 3500 B. C. Its author, Ptah-hetep, or Ptah-hotep, is identified by his name with a family of high rank, whose tomb, at Saqqareh, is described and illustrated with elaboration in two volumes of the publications of the *Archæological Survey of Egypt*. One of the portraits in the tomb, well preserved, is probably that of the moralist, who, so far as we have knowledge at present, is the father of all literature. His "good sayings," as he called them, have been translated into French and into English, and may be found in one of the volumes of the *Records of the Past*, edited by Professor Sayce. As I have said in another book, they give one who reads them the feeling of "being introduced to the primitive archetype of all gentlemen." They outline "a standard of right conduct which was set before men some centuries before Abraham,—thousands of years before Homer,—before Athens had risen,—before the foundations of a city were laid on the seven hills of Rome. And the standard set is very high." "It will fit no life that is not lifted to an elevation above petty things, where the mind becomes tolerant, the spirit magnanimous, the temper serene."

Larned: *A Multitude of Counsellors*, p 3

Not long after the time of Ptah-hetep the light of history became dimmed, by some cause, in both of the remarkable valleys where it was kindled first, and no personage of marked eminence is revealed to us for more than a thousand years. Then Hammurabi emerges,—founder of the greatness of Babylon,—organizer of the civilizing

Hammurabi B. C. 2200(?)

Babylonian influence that irradiated all western Asia thereafter,—legislator of the oldest known code of laws,—first, perhaps, among those that we know, who can with justice be called "epoch-making men."

That Hammurabi, of Babylon, is identical with the "king of Shinar" called Amraphel in the Bible appears to be a well determined fact. Hence he was contemporary with Abraham, and the time of Abraham is thus ascertained more nearly than it could be before the records of Hammurabi were found. Our knowledge of the latter is historical, in the strictest sense, because it comes direct from Hammurabi's own time, in inscriptions found lately in Babylonia and Elam; but what we know of Abraham is at second hand, and remotely so, through Hebrew traditions that were not put into writing till a far later time. There is no reason, however, for doubting the substantial authenticity of the story of Abraham and his migration to Canaan from the Babylonian city of Ur.

Abraham B. C. 2200(?)

From Hammurabi and Abraham to the next figure of distinct prominence in history there is another long interval, of six centuries or more. Egypt then recovers her historical importance, under a succession of vigorous pharaohs, the most notable of whom, Tahutimes or Thothmes I. and III., were the first to undertake careers of conquest in countries eastward from the Nile. The empire won by Thothmes III. stretched far into Asia, and was the largest that the Egyptians ever

Thothmes I. and III. B. C. 16th-15th centuries(?)

ruled. Among the many monuments he left were the two famous obelisks now standing in London and New York, which he placed at Heliopolis, originally, and dedicated to the god Tum.

Amenhotep IV. B. C. 15th century (?)

Interest of another kind attaches to the great-great-grandson of Thothmes III., who came to the throne as Amenhotep IV., but changed his name to Akh-en-Aten, or Khu-n-Aten, in consequence of a change in his religious beliefs. Apparently he was a reformer, of the most radical and independent type, not only renouncing the Egyptian gods and devoting his worship to the sun, but striving to bring his subjects to the acceptance of certain moral conceptions, adverse to war, opposed to conventionalities in life and art, favorable to truth and nature, and indicative generally of fine feeling and exalted thought. That he had a troubled reign, and did not succeed in reforming Egypt or ending war, hardly needs to be said.

Ramses II. B. C. 14th-13th centuries (?)

Merenptah

In the next Egyptian dynasty we come upon the famous pharaoh who oppressed the Children of Israel, Ramses II. (the Sesostris of the Greeks), all the many monuments and memorials of whose reign give evidence of a vainglorious, ambitious, energetic, and hard-handed monarch, precisely as represented in the Hebrew story. His mummy, in a well-preserved state, was found in 1881. That he was the pharaoh of "the oppression" is hardly doubted; that his son Merenptah was the pharaoh of "the exodus" of Israel is probable, but less sure.

Ptah-hetep
From the Tomb at Saqqareh

Thothmes III
From the Statue in the Turin Museum

Amenhotep IV
From the Statue in the Louvre

Ramses II
From the Temple at Heracleopolis

And now the stage of ancient history is lighted more distinctly for us by the opening of the Hebrew annals, and widens to receive the actors who are made most familiar to us by the best known of all books. Moses comes on the scene, a noble and impressive figure; leader, lawgiver, and ruler, without title or rank; oracle and prophet, with no priestly office; of all legislators and founders of nations the least in pretensions, the greatest in influence on the future of mankind.

Moses
B. C. 13th century (?)

In character and historical importance Moses ranks far above David, who reconstructed the Jewish nation politically, fitting a throne to its theocracy, and fashioning it more into the likeness of the common despotisms of the ancient east; but the mixture in David of poet, warrior, and adventurer,—of the man of sentiment with the man of action, of the reckless sinner with the remorseful penitent, of the life of romance with the career of cool ambition,—has been fascinating to the imagination of all ages, and has given him a preëminence among the heroes of Jewish history which sober examination of his conduct and character can hardly concede.

David
B. C. 10th century

King Solomon resembled David in nothing but his practical capacity for government, which surpassed that of his father in some important respects. He pursued a more statesmanlike policy of economic development and peace. He inherited no excitability of emotion, no warmth of temper, from the poet and man of war. Cool, calculating, meditative, self-indulgent, and so

Solomon
B. C. 10th century

devoted a lover of sententious literature that most of the proverbs and maxims of the time were attributed to him, he was, no doubt, an eminently wise man, but not the wisest of all times.

To find in Hebrew history a peer in greatness to Moses, we must pass on, beyond David and Solomon, to the prophet Isaiah, whose office and service we describe much better if we call him the inspired counselor of Judah,—the orator of orators,—the preacher of preachers,—statesman, poet, and apostle in one,—who warned, rebuked, and admonished his nation with an eloquence never heard from another tongue. Modern study of the book which bears Isaiah's name, in the Bible, leads many scholars to the conclusion that most, but not all, of the first thirty-nine chapters are from the great prophet, but that the last twenty-seven, together with some of the earlier ones, were added from another source at a later day.

Isaiah B. C. 8th century

At the time of Isaiah, Assyria, the northern offshoot of Babylonia, had risen to the leading part in oriental history, and the personal records of Assyria give only the words and doings of kings. Royal warriors, who boast of wide conquests which their successors seldom hold, and builders of grand temples and palaces, appear in plenty: Tiglathpilesers I. and III., Assurnatsirpal, Shalmanesers I. and II., Sargon the Later, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and others; but signs of statesmanship among them appear to be few.

Tiglathpilesers, Shalmanesers, Sargon, etc. B. C. 12th-7th centuries

The first Tiglathpileser shows capacity for more than wanton devastation and slaughter, by a record of systematic measures for improving the products of his kingdom, in domestic animals and plants. Possibly the third Tiglathpileser invented the policy of transplanting communities of subjugated peoples from one region to another, which brought about the extinction of the ten tribes of the kingdom of Israel by Sargon, and the exile of "all Jerusalem" by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. But if Assyria produced any greatness of character in public or private life, or contributed any noble utterance of thought or song to the world, her surviving annals have made no disclosure of the fact.

Cyrus the Great B. C. 558-529

Not long after the downfall of Assyria western Asia came under the government of a conqueror who was, perhaps, more eminently a statesman than any who had preceded him in the sovereignty of that part of the earth. The Greeks, who were critical judges of political capacity, held Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire, in profound esteem. "What other man but Cyrus," exclaims Xenophon, who wrote an admiring account of him, "after having overturned an empire, ever died with the title of *Father* from the people whom he had brought under his power?" After describing "the economy" of the empire which Cyrus organized, Xenophon remarks: "It is evident, therefore, from all that has been said, that he thought no one had any business with government who was not himself better than

Xenophon: *Cyropædia* bk. 8, ch. i-ii

those whom he governed." If this feeling ruled Cyrus consistently he cannot have failed to be one of the ideal sovereigns of history.

Zarathushtra or Zoroaster, B. C. 6th century(?)

Among the Persians, at this time, if not earlier, an inspiring literature was in process of development from the spiritual teachings of Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, who reformed the primitive religion of the Aryas of Iran. Of the personality of Zarathushtra nothing is known with the least certainty. He may have lived, as some scholars have concluded, in the tenth century before Christ; but, whatever his date, it was in the sixth century—the century of Cyrus—that his spiritual influence became a potent historical force.

That century was one of extraordinary moral and religious awakenings in the eastern world. It was the century of the appearance of Gotama, the Buddha, and of Confucius and Lao-tsze.

Gotama, the Buddha, B. C. 6th century

Among the spiritual teachers who have given better beliefs and purer ideals to great masses of mankind, the Buddha is preëminent. Princely by birth, he gave up home, family, wealth, and luxury of living, to seek means of escape from the miseries of the world and to make them known. Not many years ago, in northern India, an inscribed pillar, erected in the third century before Christ, by the Buddhist emperor, Asoka, was found marking the spot of his birth. By another inscription the place of his burial was denoted, and numerous relics of "the blessed one," found there, in a massive stone coffer, were presented by the British government of India to the king of

Siam, with the stipulation that some part of them should be shared with the Buddhists of Burmah and Ceylon.

Lao-tsze and Confucius B. C. 6th-5th centuries

The great teachers of the Chinese were less spiritual than either Zarathushtra or the Buddha. Lao-tsze was a mystic, whose mysticism underwent senseless perversions. Confucius was a purely practical moralist, of the utilitarian school, with a stiff practicality and conservatism which he planted ineradicably in the Chinese mind. He lived no sedentary and meditative life, but one of activity, traveling widely, holding various public offices, and mixing much with people and affairs. He died in 478 B. C.

Very different in the quality of their distinction are the famous personages who meet us when we turn to the isles and shores of the Ægean, where the light of history is now revealing the Greeks. Neither prophets nor conquerors are on the Greek stage. Poets are the first to appear, led by the blind Homer, whose personality can never be questioned out of existence in our minds by ingenious critics, who surmise that the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" came from many bards, in poems that were pieced finally together and attached to his single name. Whether as the sole singer of these grandest of hero-songs, or as the chief singer of a wonderful choir, Homer will keep the place that the Greeks assigned to him, as the "Father of Poets,"—leader of the procession of the poets of all time.

Homer B. C. 12th-8th centuries(?)

Following early in that line is Hesiod, rhymer

of economic maxims and precepts of doubtful morality. Later, by a century and more, come Archilochus, oldest of Greek lyric poets, and apparent inventor of iambic and trochaic meters; Pindar, the greatest of the lyric school; Sappho, whom Plato called "the tenth muse,"—first of her sex to make a great name in literature; Alcæus, the poetical aristocrat, and Anacreon, who sang of love and wine. In the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ these singers were giving a purely artistic literature to the Greeks. In another mode of art, Æsop was inventing fables, or some Greek compiler was collecting fables under Æsop's name,—if it be the fact, as suspicious criticism conjectures, that the name stands for a myth. In the same remote centuries stand Thales and Pythagoras, with whom science and philosophy may almost be said to begin.

Hesiod B. C. 8th century(?)

Archilochus, Pindar, Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon B. C. 7th-6th centuries

Thales, Pythagoras B. C. 7th-6th centuries

In the public life of the Greeks the front of history is not taken by red-handed warriors, as the chief characters of their time and country, but by organizers and reformers of government, like Lycurgus, of Sparta, about whom almost nothing but his work is known; like Solon, who framed for the Athenians their first popular constitution; like Cleisthenes, who led the revolution at Athens which gave it a completely democratic constitution, after the downfall of the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons. Even Pisistratus, technically a "tyrant," was so in no oriental sense, but has claims to a place of eminence among the political characters of the age.

Lycurgus B. C. 9th century(?)

Solon B. C. 6th century

Cleisthenes B. C. 6th century

Pisistratus B. C. 6th century

Moses
From the Statue by Michael Angelo

David
From Statue by Michael Angelo

Gotama
From a photograph of the ancient Statue

Sappho
From a Bust in the Villa Albani, Rome

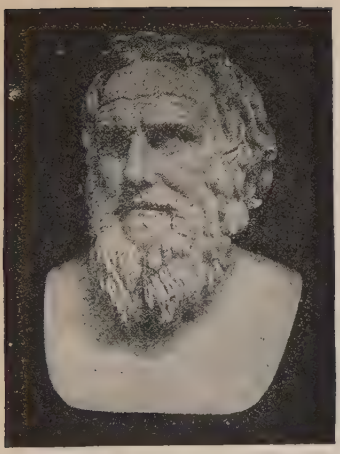
The Greeks of this epoch have their military heroes: Miltiades, who commanded them at Marathon against the Persian hosts of Darius; Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, who died at Thermopylæ, in hopeless defense of the pass, against the greater host of Xerxes; Themistocles, who, more than all others, saved Athens from the Persians, and who needed only honesty to make him one of the greatest of the Greeks; Aristides, who, with less political sagacity than Themistocles, opposed him in everything, yet holds a better place in history because of the moral qualities that gave him the surname of "the Just;" but these are all crowned with the laurels of a brave patriotism; they are the heroes, not of conquest, but of national defense. Throughout their history it seems to be the fact that the Greeks were less dazzled by military glory than most peoples, either ancient or modern, and awarded, at least relatively, a much higher distinction to more strictly intellectual achievements, in statesmanship, in philosophy, in literature, and in all the finer arts. If civilization could be regarded as a product of intellectual culture alone, the Athenians, in their great day, might be called the most highly civilized of all communities in the history of mankind. But something of what, in our day, we call spirituality, —susceptibility, that is, to the warmer emotions of religion and the profounder sense of divine things, seems to have been wanting in them, as a whole; while that which we sometimes describe

Miltiades B. C. 5th century

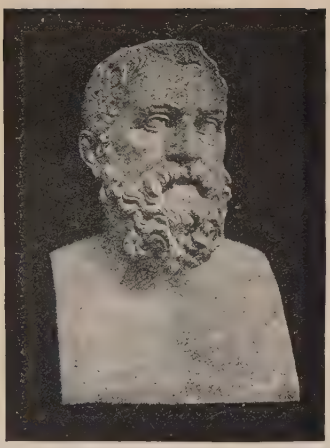
Leonidas B. C. 5th century

Themistocles, B.C. 5th century

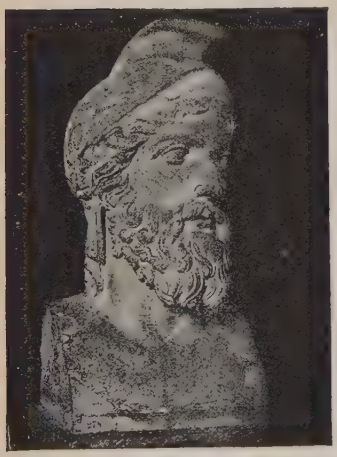
as the "moral fiber" of a race was not quite the best.



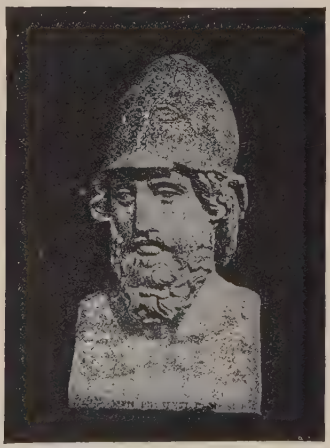
Lycurgus
From a Bust in the Museum, Naples



Solon
From a Bust in the Museum, Naples



Miltiades
From a Bust in the Louvre



Themistocles
From a Bust in the Vatican

CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS TO THE SUPPOSED AGE OF ABRAHAM

(Approximately B. C. 4700 to 2200)

On the Nile: How Egypt was made by the river.—How its age is told by the depth of the soil.—Prehistoric discoveries of Professor Petrie.—Beginning of alphabets and written language.—First decipherment of the hieroglyphics.—The Rosetta Stone.—Manetho's list of the pharaohs.—Its recent verification.—The builders of the pyramids.—The finding of the tombs of the first pharaohs in 1898-9.—Seven thousand years of Egyptian history now disclosed.—Religious ideas of the Egyptians.—High moral precepts of Ptah-hetep.—Invasion and conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos.—Supposed time of the visit of Abraham. *On the Euphrates and the Tigris:* Deep burial of the old civilization in the Mesopotamian valley.—Dissolution of its clay-built cities.—Wonderful preservation of its written memorials on tablets and cylinders of baked clay, in the heaps of their ruin.—Modern excavation.—The cuneiform writing and its decipherment.—Astonishing discoveries in recent years.—American work at Nippur.—Historical records from B. C. 4500.—The Babylonia of Abraham's time.—The Sumerian civilization.—Conjectured connection of early Chinese civilization with the Sumerian.—Rise of Babylon to supremacy.—Hammurabi, founder of the Babylonian Empire.—His identification with the Amraphel of the Bible.—Discovery of his code of laws.—The Babylonian legend of the deluge.—Time of the migration of Abraham from Babylonia to Canaan. *Elsewhere:* Glimpses of a rising civilization in and on the Ægean Sea.—The Aryan peoples of India and Iran.—Earliest Chinese records.

According to present knowledge, the first of men to pass out of prehistoric darkness into a dawning light of history, by an invention of the alphabets or signs which transform spoken into written language, were dwellers in the lower parts of two remarkable river valleys,—the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris and the valley of the Nile. The parts of those valleys which they occupied lie in nearly the same latitude, separated by the stem, as it may be called, of the Arabian peninsula, and by the northern projections of the Red Sea. In which of them the advance to a literate civilization, capable of leaving some

Two remarkable river valleys

record of itself, was accomplished first, and whether it did or did not proceed in both from a common source or cause, are questions not yet solved. Inscriptions found lately on the Nile are believed to antedate the oldest yet found on the Euphrates; but there is no precise certainty in either dating, and earlier inscriptions may yet be brought to light. Meantime, Egypt has precedence, as the country in which the oldest of known civilizations grew up.

Egypt

Age of fertility in the Nile valley

From the depth of the soil in the narrow valley of the Nile, deposited, as it has been, by the yearly floods of the river, it is possible to calculate, with some probable approach to correctness, the length of time since the valley became fit for habitation by people who had risen above the rudest state of life. Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, who has been for some years past the most extensive and successful explorer of the buried remains of ancient Egypt, reckons that time at not more than eight or nine thousand years. Writing in 1900, he said: "The rate of deposit is well known—very closely one metre in a thousand years—and borings show only eight metres thick of Nile mud in the valley. Before that the country had enough rain to keep up the volume of the river, and it did not drop its mud. It must have run as a rapid stream through a barren land of sand and stones, which could not support any population except paleolithic hunters. With the

further drying of the climate, the river lost so much velocity that its mud was deposited, and the fertile mud flats made cultivation and a higher civilization possible. At this point a people already using copper came into the country."

Petrie, in *Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1900

Discoveries made by Professor Petrie and other recent explorers have now thrown remarkable light on the life and work of these people, back almost to the beginning of the time thus computed. At least from about six thousand years before Christ it is believed that the relics found in prehistoric cemeteries and towns, of pottery more especially, can be traced in a continuous sequence, which shows an improving art and improving conditions of life. From the beginning of the series this pottery bears marks that are similar to signs found on prehistoric pottery in other parts of northern Africa and in Spain and Crete, and which may have borne meanings out of which the idea of alphabets and written language grew. Moreover, the pottery patterns and decorations are said to be somewhat in use to this day among the Algerian Kabyles. A reasonable inference is, that when the Nile had first spread a narrow carpet of fertile soil over the rocks and sand of its older margin, the valley was entered by a people who had acquired already, somewhere on the western side of the Libyan desert, a degree of culture which raised them even above the neolithic stage. It may be possible hereafter to identify that cradle-land of Egyptian civiliza-

Prehistoric Egypt

tion, and find, perhaps, that it reared and trained the people who carried neolithic arts into Europe, throughout the south and west.

From abundant remains of the work produced in this prehistoric Egypt, its unnamed inhabitants appear to have built themselves houses of brick, clothed themselves in garments of woven linen, served themselves with vessels of pottery, shaped exquisitely without the potter's wheel, and with vases of stone that were cut to perfect forms, from the hardest rock, without use of the lathe. They worked as skillfully, too, with ivory and copper and flint, and they practiced an art of colored glazing, for which many ornamental uses were found. Commerce with other Mediterranean regions is believed to have been active already, since many articles which seem to be foreign in character are found.

Prehistoric arts

But those who were the seed-planters of civilization in Egypt do not seem to have been suffered to hold the land for an uninterrupted career. Other migrants came in, some probably from the east, and a great mixture of races was brought about, as is proved by the types of face and figure that appear in paintings on vases and on the walls of tombs, even before the beginning of the known historic period was reached.

It is not likely that modern prying into the secrets of the old dwellers on the Nile will ever discover the precise time at which they began to put words into a written form; but it is known

Invention of writing

now, very nearly with certainty, to antedate 4700 B. C.

Until the second decade of our nineteenth Christian century, not a word of the old Egyptian writing had been read in modern times. The precious human history it held had been for centuries a sealed book. In all its forms,—in an early combination of picture-writing with alphabetical characters, called hieroglyphic by the Greeks, and in later modifications called hieratic and demotic,—the keys to its decipherment were lost. But in the year 1799 a fragment of inscription on stone was found at Rosetta, in the delta of Egypt, which repeated part of a document in three texts, hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek, the latter translating the two former, and thus furnishing a clue to their decipherment which scholars were eager to seize. Two persevering students, Young and Champollion, followed the clue until, more than twenty years later, the mystery of the ancient Egyptian language and writing was cleared, and their hidden treasures of history were unlocked. Nevertheless it was long before the contents of that wonderful treasury began to be much explored. Until the last half of the late century was well advanced, the inscriptions and other writings deciphered had made no great addition to the knowledge of Egypt gathered from Jewish and Greek sources; but they tested and corrected the existing knowledge, with important effects. Within our own generation, the interest in Egyptian archæology

Decipherment of hieroglyph

has grown rapidly, the work of exploration has been extended, its methods reduced to system, its results enriched. The undertakings of a few recent years have accomplished discoveries more important than all that came from what had been done before.

Among the bits of early Egyptian story that were culled long ago from Greek writers, the most important came from a work composed in the third century before Christ by an Egyptian priest, named Manetho. The country was then ruled by Greek kings (the Ptolemies), and Manetho wrote in Greek. The three books of Egyptian history which he left are supposed to have set forth very fully the annals of the country as preserved in temple archives, with much of priestly and popular tradition besides. Unfortunately, his work perished, but not until some fragments of it had been quoted in later Greek writings which survived. Included in these fragments is a list of the kings or pharaohs who reigned, or were believed to have reigned, in Egypt, from the founding of the pharaonic monarchy, dividing them into dynasties or royal families, numbering thirty-one in all, down to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, and giving the length of each reign. Since the deciphering of the hieroglyphs, other lists of the same character have been found, agreeing to a great extent with that of Manetho, and there has been a troublesome question among scholars as to how much they represented of actual fact. One by one, as inscriptions and

Manetho's list of kings

papyrus manuscripts were discovered and read, the kings named by Manetho were found speaking in them, or having their works and deeds declared by contemporary scribes and officials, until faith in the substantial truth of the Manethonian record, back to a certain point, had grown to be quite firm. That point appeared in all the lists as the beginning of a Fourth Dynasty, which included three pharaohs who were known as builders of the great pyramids of Gizeh, namely: Khufu (called Cheops by the Greeks), Khafra (or Chefren), and Menkaura, of whose actuality there could not be a doubt. But no evidence whatever of three previous dynasties, reigning for some 800 years before Khufu, as claimed in the lists, came to light during many years of exploration, and the conclusion that they were mythical had become almost fixed. The Fourth Dynasty is reckoned to have had its beginning about 4000 years before Christ, and that has been, until lately, the remotest time to which Egyptian history, recorded on its monuments, could be carried back.

The great pyramid builders

But a great revelation occurred in 1898-9. Tombs opened at Abydos were found to be those of kings of the first pharaonic dynasty, founded, according to Manetho, by Mena, or Menes, at a date which recent computations carry back to about 4770 years before Christ. These tombs have furnished inscriptions many centuries older than the oldest found before. More than that: the discoveries at Abydos include tombs and

Tombs of the First Dynasty. B. C. 4770

inscribed names of kings who are thought to have reigned (probably in lesser kingdoms) before Mena had consolidated the pharaonic monarchy, —kings alluded to by Manetho, but not named in his list. Hence Egyptian history appears now to cover nearly 7000 years, with a prehistoric period well lighted behind that.

The monarchy of the pharaohs

It is conjectured, for several reasons, that the monarchy of the pharaohs was established by an intruding people, who came into the country at some previous time and gradually mastered the several small kingdoms or city-states into which it was then divided, until finally Mena made himself lord of the whole. There are differing opinions as to whence these people came, but most writers on the subject incline to seek their origin somewhere around the southern extremity of the Red Sea, on either the Asian or the African side. That they brought the hieroglyphic system of writing to the Nile, and a culture more advanced on the whole than the prehistoric Egyptians had attained, and that they dominated the latter as a ruling "high caste" in subsequent history, are conclusions at which many Egyptologists have arrived. Nevertheless, the absence of any trace, yet found elsewhere, of the peculiar art, the peculiar building-ambition, and the peculiar religious ideas of the early Egyptians, leaves much room for doubting that the civilization which grew up on the Nile received its stamp of character from any other people or place. The monarchy of the pharaohs was organized and

remained for ages in a form which bore some resemblance to the European feudal system of a later time. The king was overlord of numerous hereditary princes, who ruled with a large measure of independence in their several districts or "nomes." Egyptian feudalism

Mena, whose throne was planted first at This or Thinis, in Upper Egypt, is said to have founded Memphis, in Lower Egypt, and made it the capital of the monarchy, which it continued to be for centuries, until superseded by Thebes. Between Mena and the Fourth Dynasty—the dynasty of the great pyramid builders—there passed a period of about 800 years, the events of which are little known. It is shown by its remains to have been a time of supreme development in some of the finest qualities of the finer arts, followed by a marked falling away in workmanship and taste. But if Egyptian art lost fineness of spirit in that period, it grew wonderfully in bold strength; for then, as said before, came the beginning of the stupendous labors that are represented by the pyramids, and by other vast undertakings of temple-building and colossal sculpture, which are the marvel of the world. Memphis

Early art

From the next dynasty, the Fifth, which seems to have been of priestly origin and character, a very different memorial, of higher interest and distinction than all the pyramids, has been preserved for us, in a piece of pure literature that is older by many centuries than any other known to exist in the world. It is a book of precepts,

Precepts of] Ptah-hetep

Sayce, *ed.*, *Records of the Past, New Series*, v. 3

touching morals and manners, the manuscript of which (called the "Papyrus Prisse") was found at Thebes about fifty years ago. The author describes himself as "the prefect, the feudal lord, Ptah-hotep (or Ptah-hetep), under the majesty of the king of the South and the North, Assa." Assa was the eighth of the nine kings of this Fifth Dynasty, and his reign is now placed at not less than 3500 years before Christ; but there are few of the essential principles of right and wrong behavior between man and man that were not set forth by this old Egyptian moralist, who wrote in that early day.

Religious ideas

There is much to show that those old Egyptian pioneers of the higher human training possessed a capacity for exalted conceptions of things, far beyond the attainment of any other people in much later times. Their religious ideas are a strange mixture of what seems to be puerile fetishism with a spirituality that is sublime. In one view they signify monotheism and a symbolized worship; in another they represent polytheism and idolatry of the grossest kind. The gods worshiped by the pharaonic Egyptians, says Professor Sayce, "were beneficent deities, forms of the sun-god from whom their kings derived their descent. It was a religion which passed easily into a sort of pantheistic monotheism in the more cultivated minds, and it was associated with a morality almost Christian in its character. A belief in a future world and a resurrection of the flesh formed an integral part of it; hence

came the practice of embalming the body that it might be preserved to the day of resurrection; hence, too, the doctrine of the dead man's justification, not only through his own good works, but through the intercession of the sun-god Horus as well. . . . Along with this higher and spiritual religion went—at least in historical times—a worship of sacred animals. The anomaly can be only explained by that mixture of races of which archæology has assured us. Beast worship must have been the religion of the prehistoric inhabitants of Egypt. . . . The sacred animals of the older cult were associated with the deities of the new-comers; in the eyes of the upper classes they were but symbols; the lower classes continued to see in them what their fathers had seen, the gods themselves."

Sayce, *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, 150

The Sixth Dynasty brought what Egyptologists have called the Old Empire to an end. It had a troubled close, and was followed by some six hundred years of evident distraction and decline. The monuments left are few, the records scanty, but many marks of violence and disorder are found. The aristocracy had grown in power, at the expense of the authority of the kings, and their feuds and rivalries appear to have been like those of the great English families in the York and Lancastrian wars. Five dynasties ran their course in this troubled time, and foreign intruders from some quarter took part in the strife. Memphis ceased to be the capital, and Thebes, after a time, came to be the seat of a prince who restored

Centuries of disorder

a strong government to the long afflicted land. Under the Twelfth Dynasty, which rose at Thebes (about 2778 B. C., according to Petrie), the ancient glory of Egypt among the nations was renewed. Enormous works of building and engineering were accomplished once more. The marshy district of Fayum was drained, and storage of the Nile floods in the part of its great depression called Lake Moeris was regulated by embankments, canals and locks. This revival of order and energy in the country endured for a few centuries, and then, at some uncertain time in the midst of the Thirteenth Dynasty, civil wars broke out afresh, a rival dynasty tore part of the kingdom from that of Thebes, and the weakened nation was overwhelmed by a horde of barbarous invaders from the east. As related by Manetho, in a brief quotation which the Jewish historian, Josephus, has preserved for us, "a people of inglorious origin from the regions of the east suddenly attacked the land, of which they took possession easily, without a struggle. They overthrew those who ruled in it, burnt down the cities and laid waste the sanctuaries of the gods. They ill-treated all the inhabitants, for they put some to the sword, and carried others into captivity with their wives and children. Then they made one of themselves king." Manetho adds that these people bore the name of Hyksos, meaning "shepherd kings," and that in his time they were supposed to have been Arabs. Modern scholars in general agree with the opinion of

Order and energy restored

Petrie, *History of Egypt*, 1: ch. viii-ix

Domination of the Hyksos. Petrie, ch.x

Manetho, that the Hyksos conquerors of ancient Egypt were probably from Arabia, for the most part, and that they were Semites, without doubt. They dominated Egypt for several centuries, and there is evidence that they became Egyptianized in manners, customs, language, and general culture, but not in religion, for they held to the worship of the Semitic Bel or Baal, in one of his many forms. It was that religious difference which brought about their expulsion at last.

It seems to be almost a matter of certainty that the relations with Egypt into which the Children of Israel were brought came about while the Hyksos were ruling the land. At some early part of that period, the visit of Abraham is supposed to have been made, and the story of Joseph's career in Egypt can only be connected with the reign of one of the later Hyksos kings. We are thus at a point at which the thread of history from the Nile becomes twisted into another from the Euphrates, and we may properly drop this for a time to trace that.

Abraham and Joseph

Babylonia

The old civilization which ran its long course in the valley of the Euphrates suffered there a deeper burial than happened to the early civilization of the Nile. The latter left half of its sepulchres and monuments above ground, for a sign and a promise to the explorer, and challenged the reading of its records by graving them mostly on the open faces of great rocks. The former sank

from sight into deep graves, under shapeless heaps of earth, which hinted nothing of the secrets they held. To the ancients of the Babylonian river, Nature had given clay instead of stone for their most enduring uses. Their temples, their palaces, and all their greater structures, were of brick, either sun-dried or baked; and so, likewise, were their documents and their books. They devised an alphabet of strange characters, formed of wedge-shaped lines, easily marked by a simple instrument on soft clay, and their writing in those cuneiform characters was done almost wholly on clay tablets and cylinders, which became well-nigh imperishable when baked. Time dissolved the foundations and the walls of their vast earthen edifices into formless mounds, and countless stores of those precious plates of baked clay, which held literature and history in their keeping, were engulfed and hidden in the sunken mass. No suspicion of their existence was wakened until near the beginning of the nineteenth century, and nothing was read from them until that century was half spent.

Clay buildings and books

Buried libraries

In this case, the mystery of language and writing was harder to master than that of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, since no Greek translation gave a clue. The clue, indeed, was found in certain inscriptions which repeated, like the Rosetta stone, the same text in three languages, but those languages were all equally unknown. These trilingual inscriptions, moreover, were found far away from the Euphrates, at Persepolis

and Behistun, in Persia, and they were studied long before any thought of connecting them with the speech of the Babylonian peoples occurred. The three languages contained were all inscribed in cuneiform characters, and proved in the end to be the language of the ancient Persians (the Zend), the language of Elam (called the Susian), and the language of Babylonia and Assyria, now generally called Assyrian, though it came from the older people of the valley. The common alphabet of the three languages was mastered and the Persian text fully translated, in 1846, by Sir Henry Rawlinson, after long labor, greatly helped by the studies of other scholars, especially of Grotefend, Lassen, and Burnouf. Another quarter century or more was spent upon the Susian and Assyrian tongues, before their grammar and vocabulary could be said to be fairly understood.

Decipherment of the cuneiform writing

Meantime, the work of excavation in the great ruin-heaps of the Mesopotamian valley, first begun effectively by Botta and Layard, in 1842 and 1845, was harvesting an enormous store of inscriptions which waited to be read; and every new reading gave fresh excitement and stimulation to the search. Here, it was found, were amazing explanations, confirmations, or corrections of Bible history, from older sources, which touched the very springs of Hebrew tradition and reported from the very theaters of event. After Layard, the exploring spade was taken up by Rassam and by George Smith, with English sup-

Work of excavation

port, by De Sarzec, as a consul of France, by German archæologists, and finally, with greater system and thoroughness, by the expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania, under Dr. Peters, Professor Hilprecht and Mr. Hayne. The resulting gains to historical knowledge are almost beyond belief.

No longer ago than 1870, in the second edition of his *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World*, —which was then the accepted summary of oriental learning in that field,—Professor George Rawlinson, writing of Babylonian history under what is now known to be the erroneous name of "Chaldæan," said: "Chaldæan history may be regarded as opening upon us at a time anterior, at any rate by a century or two, to B. C. 2286. It was then that Nimrod, the son or descendant of Cush, set up a kingdom in Lower Mesopotamia which attracted the attention of the surrounding nations. The people whom he led came probably by sea; at any rate their earliest settlement was on the coast." Thirty-one years later (1901) a learned historian of Babylonia, Professor Rogers, found no reason for any mention of Nimrod as an historical character, but traced a recorded history, on the authority of Professor Hilprecht, to a point of time "before 4500 B. C."

B. C. 4500

Forty years ago, Professor Rawlinson, writing of Babylon in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, could barely name, as a shadowy first figure in its story, the "Amraphel, king of Shinar," contemporary of Abraham, who is mentioned in the 14th

chapter of Genesis, and add that "from this point the history of Babylon is almost a blank for above twelve centuries." In 1899, Professor Sayce could write: "The Babylonia of the age of Amraphel, the contemporary of Abraham, has, thanks to the recent finds, become as well known to us as the Athens of Perikles; the daily life of the people can be traced in all its outlines, and we even possess autograph letters written by Amraphel himself. The culture of Babylonia was already immensely old. . . . The age of Amraphel, indeed, is in certain respects an age of decline. The heyday of Babylonian art lay nearly two thousand years before it." Thus marvelously has the horizon of history been widened eastward, and its dark distances search-lighted, within our own generation,—mostly within the last twenty years.

Sayce, *Early Israel*, p. xii

The undefined lower part of the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which has come to be called Babylonia, appears to have borne, at a very early time, in some portion at least, the name of Kengi, signifying the "land of canals and reeds," and inscriptions lately found name one En-shag-kush-ana as "lord of Kengi," at a period which is believed to be more than 4500 years before Christ. This lord of Kengi was likewise *patesi*, or chief priest, of the god En-lil, whose temple was at Nippur, where the explorations of the University of Pennsylvania are carried on. His inscriptions prove that the cuneiform system of writing was already in use; the name given to

Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1:bk.2,ch.1

the country shows that its low flats and marshes had already been drained by canals; and by many tokens it appears that the people of Kengi had reached a stage of civilization which needs millenniums of advancing ancestral culture behind to explain it. But nothing to mark or hint of the preceding stages of that advance has yet come to light. There is no present glimpse of a prehistoric period of life in the land; no relics, as in Egypt, of a mute culture, which could report itself to future times by works of art, but not by written speech. It would seem, therefore, that the first inhabitants must have come from some other land, already equipped with their alphabet; but where is the country in which marks of the birth of a culture like that of these old Babylonians is likely to be found?

No prehistoric remains found

In the opinion of a majority of the scholars who have studied the subject, the early inhabitants who endowed Babylonia with its system of writing, with much of its religion, much of its legends and literature, and much in fact of all that is most characteristic of its civilization, were not the people who dominated the country during the greater part of its historical life. A difference of language is found, which is thought to indicate a difference of race. But this conclusion is disputed by some, who hold that the supposed older language is only a mystifying system of writing, invented by the priests. The language in question appears to belong to what is known as the agglutinative class, the elements of its words

The early and the later peoples

being loosely glued together, instead of being fused, as words in the inflectional languages are; and this leads to the conjecture that it was the language of a people who came from the Mongolian stock; whereas the later Babylonians belong with certainty to the Semitic group of the white-skinned race.

Sumerian and Semitic Babylonia

According to the theory which now prevails, the Semites were later comers in the country, who subjugated an earlier and more civilized people, appropriated their culture, and preserved a knowledge of their language for the sake of the literature it contained. This language is sometimes referred to in the old inscriptions as the language of Accad (a name derived from the city of Agade) and sometimes as the language of Sumer (the land of Shinar mentioned in Genesis x, 10); the distinction of name representing a difference of dialect. As the dialect of Sumer is decided to be the older form, both language and people are now called Sumerian.

Sumerian and Chinese analogies

Between that most ancient Sumerian civilization of Babylonia and the oldest remains of primitive culture in China, many striking analogies have been found, in names, in arts, in astronomical and astrological ideas, in chronological systems, and the like. These are marked enough to furnish quite substantial ground for conjecturing that the founders of the Chinese nation were an offshoot of the people who originated the Babylonian civilization, driven out, perhaps, by the Semitic invaders, or otherwise set in

motion toward the east. It is difficult, but it is not impossible, to believe in the occurrence of so distant a migration as that from the Euphrates to the Hoang-Ho; for much wide wandering went on in the early world.

In the political state of the Sumerian people, government seems to have taken form in cities at first, as a growth of authority in the hands of the chief priests. Each city worshiped its own god, for whom it claimed supremacy over the gods of its neighbors, and this religious rivalry was a cause of perpetual strife. Some cities were able to subjugate their neighbors and became the seats of small dominions, between which the same struggle for supremacy went on. En-shag-kush-ana, who called himself "lord of Kengi," appears to have united a considerable part of the southern region in a single kingdom under his rule. For several succeeding centuries there are notices of war, recurring again and again, with varying fortunes, between communities at the south and at the north of the lower valley, and this is held to have been part of the long strife of the Sumerians with the invading Semites, who made their encroachments from the northwest. At length, about 3800 B. C., a Semitic king of Agade, named Shargina, or Sargon, mastered the whole of Babylonia, overcame the Elamites, in the mountain country which borders it on the southeast, carried his arms even to Syria and Canaan, and established for a time the first considerable empire that rose in that region of the world. Numerous in-

Sumerian political system

Sargon, B. C. 3800

Rogers, *Babylonia and Assyria* 1: 361-5

scriptions relating to this early Sargon have been found at Nippur, and he is the first striking figure in the annals of the Asiatic east.

During about fifteen centuries after Sargon and his son, who maintained his father's empire, the scanty records afford only faint and confused glimpses of rising and falling monarchies, seated in different cities,—at Shirpurla, at Ur, at Isin, at Larsa, and probably at other capitals yet to be named,—each claiming sovereignty of the "kingdom of Sumer and Accad," as the realm was called, by whomsoever held, and sometimes indicating a sovereignty that reached again, like that of Sargon, to the Mediterranean Sea. What lesser states existed in more or less independence is little known.

About 2200 or 2300 B. C., the country, in its southern part at least, was assailed overwhelmingly by its more barbarous neighbors, the Elamites, who evidently struck at the venerable Sumerian civilization with an unsparing hand. The American explorers at Nippur have found grievous marks of the destruction wrought then on the older works of art. There are reasons for conjecturing that the Chedorlaomer (or Kudur Laghghamer), king of Elam, who is mentioned in Genesis, was the leader in this attack, or that he reigned in Elam shortly after it occurred.

Elamite conquest, B. C. 2300 or 2200

Genesis xiv

For some years Sumer and Accad were subject to Elam; and then their deliverance came from the city of Babylon,—the city whose name is now given to the whole region and people, because it

centered all their subsequent history in itself, and became the most renowned of the capitals of the ancient eastern world. Until the day when it led revolt against Elam it must have been unimportant and obscure, since hardly any previous mention of its name has been found. Hammurabi, or Ammu-rabi, or Khammurabi, who leaps then, suddenly, to the front of affairs in the valley, is said to have been the sixth of its city kings. With not much doubt, he was the "king of Shinar" called Amraphel in the chapter of Genesis mentioned above. It is certain that he was one of the epoch-making men of history.

Rise of Babylon

Hammurabi (Amraphel) B.C.2200(?)

Hammurabi drove the Elamites back to their mountains and united the whole land of Sumer and Accad under a firmer and more settled government than it had known before. He not only restored peace and prosperity to the country, gave it a written code of laws, extended its limits, improved its canals, established a storage of grain for years of scant harvest, carried on great works of temple-building, and began to impart to Babylon the splendor which afterwards outshone that of all other capitals, but he made his city, from that time onward, the seat of learning, the center of culture, the school of civilization, for surrounding peoples. Astronomy, long studied on the wide plains of Shinar, and literature, long cultivated, received new encouragement at his hands. The volume of literature, religious for the most part, is found to have become large, already, and its quality rich. Much from it was passing into

Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, 107-117

HAMMURABI

From Memoire de la Delegation en Perse, Plate IV

the legends and sacred literature of other peoples, especially those of Semitic speech. The oldest of known epics, the hero-story of Izdubar or Gilgamish, which contains, among its episodes, the legend of the deluge in a more archaic form than that of Genesis, was composed at this or an earlier time. Of its twelve tablets, containing some three thousand lines, about half have been recovered and read.

The legend of the Deluge

Hammurabi's code of laws, formulated from past decisions of courts and from accepted notions of right, was inscribed by his command on slabs of stone (stelæ) and set up in the principal cities; with a statement that this was done to enable every man to learn his rights. One copy of the code, thus graven on stone, has been found in recent years, not in Babylonia, but in the ruins of Susa, the old capital of Elam, to which it had been carried, among the spoils of a new Elamite conquest of Babylonia, some three hundred years after Hammurabi passed away. As evidence of the well-ordered ideas and institutions of justice that prevailed in that corner of the world more than four thousand years ago, this is one of the most important monuments of antiquity that has ever come to light.

Hammurabi's Code

Until Hammurabi gave supremacy to Babylon, the god En-lil, whose chief temple was at Nippur, had been ranked first among the deities, the Bel, or Lord, of all. But the lordship of Babylon carried with it the lordship of its patron deity, Marduk, who now became the recognized Bel.

Babylonian religion

Excepting in such concessions of supremacy to one god among many, there seems to be no trace of a monotheistic idea in the Babylonian religion, and its conceptions are distinctly lower than those which the Egyptians attained.

Abraham's migration to Canaan

Either during the reign of Hammurabi, or shortly before he established his rule, the migration of Abram or Abraham, from the Babylonian city called "Ur of the Chaldees" in the Biblical narrative, into the land of Canaan, is supposed to have occurred. Some have conjectured that the name of Abraham, in the Bible story, as narrated from tradition, is a name around which vague memories of a Semitic migration, or a series of migrations, from Babylonia into Canaan, had gathered various legends, and that it represents, not the actual progenitor, but some famous leader in the movements of the race. But the story as it stands is not incredible, and there is no sufficient reason for doubting that Abraham is an historical character and the ancestor of the Children of Israel.

Though he and his descendants, for a long period, were dwellers in tents, living a nomadic tribal life, like that of their near relatives, the nomadic Arabs, he had come from a country of considerable civilization, where writing and the keeping of records were common, and he had not left that state of civilization behind him. In the opinion of Professor Sayce, "Abraham took with him to the west the traditions and philosophy of Babylonia, and found there a people already well

Babylonian civilization in Canaan

acquainted with the literature, the law and the religion of his fatherland;" for "the power and influence of Babylonia had been firmly established for centuries throughout the length and breadth of western Asia." It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that the early annals of Israel were wholly traditional, since more or less of record may easily have been preserved. Abraham's visit to Egypt, because of famine in Canaan, was an incident natural to the state of things in that country under the Hyksos pharaohs, if they were Semites, from either Arabia or Mesopotamia, as supposed.

Sayce, *Early Israel*, 39-37

Early Arabia

If the "Shepherd Kings" and their followers in Egypt came out of Arabia, it must have been from those northern parts of the peninsula which have been almost changeless in their nomadic, semi-barbarous state of life through all historic time. Southwestern Arabia was the seat of an early civilization that rose to a high mark, but its real antiquity and all that concerns its beginnings and its development are unknown. Many things have suggested a close connection of southern Arabia and the opposite African coasts, in some way, with the early culture of both Egypt and Babylonia; but whether as giving or receiving is doubtful, and the whole subject waits for such light as future exploration may yield.

Early Canaan and the Canaanites

Canaan, when Abraham came to it, may not have been known by that name, and the Canaanites with whom his descendants fought for it may not have arrived in the land. Those called Canaanites in Bible history were Semites, related closely to Abraham and his seed, and, according to their own traditions, supported by other evidence, they were migrants from the same region on the Persian Gulf, probably near to Babylonia; but the time of their migration is uncertain. One part of these people took possession of the valleys and plains; another part settled on the seacoast and became a nation of sailors and traders,—the Sidonians of the Bible,—the Phœnicians of a later age. The Canaanites of the Bible included both. Another people who were probably in Canaan before Abraham's day were the Amorites, who held the mountains of that country and of Syria, and who do not seem to have come from the Semitic stock, but from that of the Libyans, in northern Africa; this, however, is a point in some dispute. Throughout all Syria and Canaan the influence of Babylonia, and sometimes its sovereignty, seems then and long after to have been supreme. That of Egypt, their nearer neighbor, was little shown.

McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* bk. 1, ch. iii, and bk. 3, ch. i

Mesopotamia and Syria

The civilizing influence of Babylonia was potent far northward and westward, in the Meso-

potamian valley and on its borders, especially among the Semitic peoples, who seem to have been in possession of most of the region which the two rivers drained. The powerful nation of the Assyrians, who came into history at a later day, were probably settling themselves, by this time, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and becoming trained in local warfare for their future career. They looked to Babylon for all teaching except in commerce and war, for which pursuits they were better endowed than their kinsmen of the south.

Beginnings of Assyria

The country above Babylonia, between the Tigris and Euphrates (which was the true Mesopotamia of the ancients), and much of the Syrian country west of that, was occupied by Semites of the branch called Aramæan, who bore in history very little of an independent part. They were overpowered, repeatedly, by non-Semitic invaders from the highlands of Armenia and eastern Asia Minor, at first, and then by the masterful Assyrians, who bent conquerors and conquered under one common yoke. Nothing is known of the home or the state, at this period, of certain non-Semitic peoples, Hittites and Mitannians, who appeared in the great valley a few centuries later, possibly coming from beyond the mountains of the north and northwest, with a quite advanced culture of their own.

Aramæans

Hittites

Mitannians

In and on the Ægean

Some glimpses have been obtained lately of an early civilization which must, within this period

(that is, we will say, prior to the ending of the third millennium before Christ), have been rising in and around the Ægean Sea. The people of that region, in the islands, as well as on the borders of Asia Minor and on the mainland of Greece, appear to have made remarkable progress in artistic development, before signs of any approach to the literate stage of culture are found. Their handiwork, especially in pottery, shows the germinating, even then, of that fineness of taste which gave distinction to the Greek art of later times. Proof almost to certainty of a considerable exchange of such products with Egypt, even at a date earlier than that suggested above, has been found of late, both in Egypt and Crete. On other parts, too, of the northern coast of the Mediterranean there are relics of an earlier culture and an earlier activity of trade than had been supposed.

The Table-land of Iran

Eastward and southeastward from the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates lies the high mountain-bounded region that is often described as the "table land of Iran," represented in modern geography by Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and part of Turkish Kurdistan. At some very early time, as we have noted already, this region, and the valley of the Indus that lies beyond it, came into the possession of peoples whose languages belonged to the Aryan group. Whence

and when they came to it, if not aboriginal in it, and how they became separated so widely from the groups whose history is the history of Europe, are among the questions that ethnologists hold in debate. Possibly those ancestors of the Persian and the Hindu, whose speech had an origin akin to our own, were dwelling in Iran and on the Indus (which gave its name to India) before Hammurabi raised Babylon to greatness, and before Abraham went into Canaan; but nothing yet discovered offers ground for any reckoning of dates in their prehistoric life, until a far later time.

China

On the remoter plains and valleys of China, if we trust the annals recorded in that country at a later day, the national history had its opening at about the Abrahamic age. A *Book of History* credited to Confucius starts from the reign of a king or emperor Yao, who is dated by some calculations as early as 2357 B. C., and by others as late as 2085. Other Chinese writings name sovereigns before Yao, but the marks of myth seem plain on what is told of them; and recent European scholars have found some added reasons in those myths for conjecturing that the Chinese nation sprang from an emigrating body of the people who planted the civilization called Sumerian in the lower valley of the Euphrates. If that conjecture is correct, the emigration had occurred, without doubt, at a time within the period of our present survey.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE SUPPOSED AGE OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF DAVID

(Approximately, B. C. 2200 to 960)

Egypt: The rule of the Hyksos.—Their expulsion.—Probability of the story of Joseph.—Amenhotep, the sun-worshiper.—Discovery of his foreign correspondence at Tel-el-Amarna.—Ramses II., the pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites. *Babylonia:* Development of schools, libraries, arts, literature, trade.—Rule of the Kassites.—The rise of Assyria.—*Canaan and Aramea:* The exodus of Israel from Egypt.—Babylonian influence in Mosaic institutions.—The Israelite conquest of Canaan.—The period of the Judges.—Wars with the Philistines.—The founding of the Hebrew monarchy.—Saul.—David.—David's conquests.—His decline in character.—Strife for the succession to David's crown.—Triumph of Solomon. *The Phœnicians:* Former overestimate of the civilizing influence of the Phœnicians.—They were not the inventors of the alphabet. *Greek Regions:* Early civilization in and on the Ægean.—Knowledge from the work of excavation.—Light on the Homeric poems.—Tyrians and Mycenæ.—Astonishing discoveries in Crete.—The labyrinth of King Minos.—Cretan writing.—Apparent origin of the Phœnician alphabet.—The Cretan age.—The Mycenæan age.—Divisions of the Hellenic peoples.—Movement of the Dorians.—Ionian preservation of the early culture. *Elsewhere:* Probable state of other parts of Europe.—The lake-dwellers.—Stonehenge.—Lydia.—Phrygia.—The Trojans.—The Aryas.—The Vedic hymns.—The Avesta.

Egypt

Nothing yet found on the monuments or in the tombs and ruins of Egypt throws much light on the period during which the country was subject to the Hyksos. It was a long period, in which three successive conditions prevailed, each for a long time. First, for what seems to have been several generations, the country was harassed and ravaged by the invaders, whose domination it strove to resist. Then, for two or three centuries, it was submissive to Hyksos kings, under whom some shadowy show of vice-royalty was kept up by princes of the old dynastic lines. In this time the civilization of the conquered overcame the

Under the Hyksos

semi-barbarism of the conquerors, to so great an extent that the relics of the age show no striking marks of change. But the Hyksos pharaohs remained faithful to their own gods, of whom they held one Sutekh to be the chief, and this religious difference, no doubt, kept the hostility of the Egyptian people to them and their race from dying out. In time they appear to have lost energy and their power weakened, while the Egyptians recovered courage, or acquired princes who could rouse and lead them with more success. A new outbreak of rebellion, provoked, it was said, by an attempt to force the native court at Thebes to honor Sutekh above its own god Amon, was prolonged obstinately through five generations, until the Hyksos gave way and left the country, to the number (according to Manetho, as repeated in the Jewish history of Josephus) of 240,000, retreating through the desert toward Syria. Their expulsion was accomplished, about 1600 B. C., by a Theban prince, Aahmes, who became the founder of a new Egyptian dynasty, the Eighteenth.

Expulsion of the Hyksos B.C.1600(?)

Both Abraham's visit to Egypt and Joseph's career in that country are supposed to fall within the period of the Hyksos domination. Nothing yet found in Egyptian records relates to Joseph, or distinctly to his people; but all the incidents of the story, taken separately, are true to ascertained fact. There were slaves brought into Egypt as Joseph was brought; there were foreigners who rose to Joseph's height of office under

The story of Joseph

the pharaohs; there were seven-year famines, provided against as Joseph is said to have made provision; there was a district—a "land of Goshen"—on the northeastern frontier of Egypt in which Semitic nomads were sometimes settled (and undoubtedly in the Hyksos period), as the brethren of Joseph and their descendants were said to be; and thus the substance of the narrative in the last fourteen chapters of Genesis is well sustained.

Genesis xxxvii-l

Under the Eighteenth Dynasty the Egyptian monarchy entered on a new career, in which surprising energies were shown. For the first time, the arms of the pharaohs were carried far into Asia, especially by Thothmes or Tahutimes I. and Thothmes III. (16th and 15th centuries B. C.), the latter of whom left an empire which extended beyond the Euphrates in the east, to Asia Minor in the north, and to Ethiopia (ancient Abyssinia) in the south. The recovered annals of the reign of this most vigorous king are very full, and its monuments are among the most numerous and the most interesting that were left by the ancient rulers of the Nile. By the Asiatic conquests of the Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt seems to have been influenced profoundly in many ways. The arts and the general culture of Babylonia now reached the Egyptians, through Syria, as they had not done before. Great numbers of Semitic women were brought into the country, as captives or as tribute, to become the wives and concubines of men in the upper class, and to exert

a Semitizing influence which seems to have become marked. Professor Petrie observes in the painting and sculpture on the monuments a "striking change in the physiognomy and ideal type of the upper classes in the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty" which he attributes to this cause.

Semitizing influence

Several peaceful reigns followed that of Thothmes III., and grand works of temple-building were carried on, most notably by his great grandson, Amenhotep III., at Luxor and Elephantine. But, before the ending of the reign of this third Amenhotep, the Asiatic empire of the dynasty was breaking up, and all attempts to maintain it were abandoned by his son, Amenhotep IV., or Akh-en-Aten,—a prince of philosophical mind, who nearly wrecked his authority, even at home, by too radical undertakings of religious and moral reform. He seems to have sought to introduce a supreme deification of the sun, not according to the older crude notions of sun-worship, but as the radiant source of life-giving and world-sustaining energies, all of which are described in a remarkable hymn, composed during his reign, with a fullness and accuracy that come close to the scientific knowledge of light and heat at the present day. The royal philosopher and reformer was too much in advance of his time. It was inevitable that the conservatism in the Egyptian character should be roused against him by the priesthood of the ancient cult, and prove stronger than he. He was forced to quit Thebes,

Amenhotep IV. or Akh-en-Aten? Petrie, *History of Egypt*, 2:205-233

and he then built a new capital farther north, the ruins of which, known as Tel el-Amarna, yielded, a few years ago, the most remarkable discovery of ancient historical archives yet made on Egyptian soil.

On quitting Thebes, Akh-en-Aten had taken with him to his new capital, amongst other archives of the government, a mass of the foreign correspondence of his own reign and that of his father, Amenhotep III. In 1887, some peasants who were digging in the Tel el-Amarna ruin for bricks, or for antique objects to sell to tourists, came upon a store of this correspondence, inscribed in cuneiform characters and in the Babylonian manner, on tablets of clay. Unfortunately the store thus brought to light became much scattered before its extraordinary value was found out; but more than three hundred tablets have been brought to the knowledge of scholars and most of them have been read. Many of the letters contained are from Egyptian governors and vassal princes in Canaan and Syria, reporting the troubled condition of those countries during the decline and overthrow of the pharaonic rule. Others are from kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, and the invading Hittites, the three last named being monarchies of recent appearance in the eastern world. Intimate relations between Egypt and Mitanni had been formed, the Mitannian royal family having given princesses in marriage to both Amenhotep III. and his son. Remarkable light on the whole state of things in

The Tel el-Amarna tablets. Winckler, *Tel el-Amarna Letters*

The Mitannian kingdom

eastern Asia is supplied by these letters, and especially in their revelation of the activity of correspondence as well as trade, and of the extent to which a knowledge of the Babylonian language and script prevailed in that age.

Akh-en-Aten left no sons, and three husbands of his daughters reigned after him in succession; the last two of whom renounced his religious ideas, abandoned his new capital, and submitted themselves to the priests. Then the dynasty came to an end, and the throne was taken by the commander of the army, who failed, however, to found a new line of kings. That was done by the next pharaoh, Ramses I., whose reign was short. His son, Seti I., and his grandson, Ramses II. (the Sesostris of Greek legends), reopened wars of conquest in Asia, and reëstablished, partly, for a time, the empire won and lost by the previous dynasty in Canaan and beyond. The second Ramses is boastful in his inscriptions of great military exploits; but the dominion he regained took in but half of Syria, and fell far short of that acquired by Thothmes III. He fought the formidable Hittites with some success, but was glad to come to terms of peace and to make a Hittite princess his queen. His long reign of sixty-seven years is made more notable by the great number of cities he founded, the temples he built or enlarged, and the statues he set up, than by his wars. In these works there is no doubt that he used forced labor tyrannically, and that the Israelites, still dwelling in the "land of Goshen,"

Nineteenth Dynasty

Ramses II. (Sesostris), B. C. 14th-15th centuries

Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, ch. iii

were among the subjects thus oppressed. Since the excavation in 1883 of some ruins on the eastern frontier of Egypt, which proved to be those of a "store city" built by Ramses II. and called Pi-tum (the Pithom of Exodus), there has been no question that he was the pharaoh of the oppression recorded in Jewish history. Whether the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt occurred in the reign of his son Merenptah or Meneptah, or at a little later time, when feeble princes held the throne for brief terms and much disorder prevailed, remains to be ascertained. In the fifth year of Merenptah, Egypt was assailed by a most formidable confederation of enemies, who swarmed to the attack from all parts of the southern, eastern and northeastern coasts of the Mediterranean. They were heroically beaten off; but the monarchy was sorely weakened; its Asiatic provinces were lost again, never to be recovered; and a majority of recent historians look on this as most probably the time when the Children of Israel escaped from the yoke of bondage they had worn so long.

The pharaoh of the oppression of Israel. Exodus, 1

The Exodus of Israel

In the last years of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Egypt is shown to have been in an evil state. Then the throne passed to a new family which claimed descent from Ramses, and both order and vigor appear to have been restored briefly by its first two kings, Setnekht and Ramses III. The latter, whose reign began about 1200 B. C., or not many years before that date, defended his kingdom with success against another con-

Twentieth Dynasty

B. C. 1200 (?)

ISRAEL IN EGYPT

From the painting by Sir Edward J. Poynter, R.A. (1836)

federated attack like that which imperiled it in Merenptah's time. The invaders, coming mostly from Asia Minor and the Greek islands and coasts, had broken and scattered the Hittites and swept over Syria and Canaan. Ramses III. routed them in a desperate battle, fought on land and by sea, and drove them back into northern Syria, restoring Egyptian authority for a short time up to the line of the empire of Ramses II. But he was the last of the pharaohs whose rule extended beyond Egyptian soil. After him the final decay of the great and venerable nation set in, and not much that is notable appears in its history during the next five hundred years.

Decay of the nation

Babylonia

While Egypt had been going through the experiences sketched briefly in this chapter, a great shifting of scenes, as well as a changing of actors, had taken place on the other grand stage of early history, in the Babylonian valley. Babylon was still what Hammurabi had made her, the queen of the world's capitals, in splendor, in culture, in wealth, in the subtle influence of the civilization which she centered in herself; but political movements and interests in and around the great valley had been ranging themselves on lines that ran from other seats of power as well as from her own.

The long and notable reign of Hammurabi was followed apparently by a noble period of prosperous peace, lasting through many generations; a

Prosperity and high culture

period in which arts and letters were cultivated carefully, schools flourished, libraries were collected, commerce was active, and the dominion of Babylon, established more by intellect and learning than by arms, was exercised tranquilly from the Tigris to the Mediterranean Sea. This general fact seems assured; but of detailed events in the time described almost nothing has been learned. The peaceful period ended at some time in the eighteenth century B. C., when Babylonia was again overcome by a body of invaders from Elam, called Kassites in the inscriptions, and for nearly six centuries its throne was held by a dynasty of Kassite kings. But Babylonia subdued its conquerors, as Egypt subdued the Hyksos, by its irresistible civilizing force. They fitted themselves to its grooves, imitated its ways and manners, assimilated its culture, and came in time to be Babylonians themselves.

Kassite conquest and domination B. C. 18th-12th centuries

The great old nation could not fail, however, to lose something in the process of civilizing its conquerors, and it certainly did so in political power and prestige. We have seen how, beginning in the sixteenth century B. C., the Egyptian monarchs of the Eighteenth Dynasty pursued careers of conquest in Canaan, Syria, and Mesopotamia, where the lordship of Babylonia had been recognized, either fully or partly, with some interruptions, for more than two thousand years. In older times this, probably, could not have occurred without collision between the empire on the Euphrates and that on the Nile; but the first

effectual resistance encountered by the Egyptians in their Asiatic campaigns was when Ramses II. reached northern Syria, where a power new in history had obtained its principal seat. It was that of the people called the Kheta by the Egyptians,—the Hittites of the Bible,—concerning whom there has been much controversy among oriental scholars in late years. Monuments judged to be the work of the same people, bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphs not yet deciphered and in a language not yet classed, are traced through Cappadocia and Asia Minor, indicating either an empire that was widespread or the transfer of a quite civilized people from the western and northern to the eastern and southern sides of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountain ranges. Some oriental scholars are unconvinced that the similar monuments in Asia Minor and Syria are the work of one and the same race. Others who conclude differently are divided in opinion as to whether the Hittites were of Semitic, Aryan or Mongolian stock. Professor Sergi and his followers do not hesitate to recognize them as a branch of the "Mediterranean race" which developed, in their belief, all the early states of organized society and historical progress on the shores of the great midland sea. The Hittite question is far from being solved, and nothing has become clear but the fact that the people thus named bore a part of considerable importance in events that touch the early history of eastern Mediterranean lands. Their power appears to have been broken last-

The Hittites

The Hittite question

(See pages 67-69)

ingly by the invasive movements from Asia Minor and the Greek lands which swept through Syria and Canaan to Egypt in the reigns of Merenptah and Ramses III.

Mitanni

At some time within the period we are surveying, the small kingdom called Mitanni, of which little is known, but which must have been a seat of considerable culture, had arisen in the northwestern part of the Mesopotamian valley, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. The letters from its kings, found at Tel el-Amarna, as mentioned already, addressed to the pharaohs of Egypt, Amenhotep III. and IV., who had married Mitannian princesses, are the principal records it has left, so far as known.

The Rise of Assyria

But the most important change in the great valley of the two rivers proceeded from the rise of a new Semitic power, which had its first seat in the city of Asshur and took the name of Assyria therefrom. It is supposed to have grown up from a Babylonian colony, planted at an early time in the north, on the Tigris, and long subject or tributary to the Babylonian kings. Its first rulers were priest-princes, who seem to have assumed the royal title, with probable independence, at some time in the seventeenth century B. C. This was after the Kassites had mastered Babylon, and its ancient power was undoubtedly slipping from their hands. Of the little that is known of succeeding events there is

B. C. 17th century(?)

nothing to note until about at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century B. C., when the Assyrians invaded and subjugated Babylonia, placing a grandson of their own king on its throne. The relations between the two kingdoms for some generations afterwards are obscure. Evidently the supremacy of Assyria had not been established fully, for Babylon was captured again in the early years of the thirteenth century B. C., and the Assyrian monarch then took to himself the ancient title of king of Sumer and Accad. His dominion had by this time become much extended, down the eastern borders of the Tigris, and westwardly, between the two rivers, where the Aramæans were brought into subjection, and the rich trade they carried on, to and from the Mediterranean and Asia Minor, came under Assyrian control. This expansion had been the work of several vigorous kings, the best known of whom is Shalmaneser I., who founded a new capital at Calah, so near to the more ancient city of Nineveh that the latter absorbed it as a suburb in later times and took the seat of government to itself.

Assyrian subjugation of Babylonia. B. C. 15th-14th centuries(?)

Shalmaneser I

Nineveh

Babylon and Assyria

After Shalmaneser and his son, who proved to be as energetic as himself, there was a period of Assyrian decline. Babylon regained independence, and was again the stronger power, attacking Assyria and recovering more or less of the territory taken by the latter in recent years. But

NEBRASKA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE LIBRARY

these aggressions of the parent nation were checked ere long, by a reawakening of energy in the younger state. Then Babylon, in its turn, received fresh stimulation, from a new line of kings. The Kassite dynasty, feeble and dethroned several times, was extinguished finally in the latter half of the twelfth century B. C., and was succeeded by a Semite dynasty, founded by Nebuchadnezzar I., who led victorious armies in several campaigns, northward, eastward and westward, but gained nothing that he could hold. His successors were overcome in their contention with a warrior greater than any who had ruled in Assyria before. This was Tiglathpileser I., a monarch of undoubted superiority in statesmanship as well as in war. His numerous and successful campaigns extended the bounds of Assyrian empire widely on the north and northwest, beyond the mountains, into Cappadocia and Armenia, and apparently to some point on the Phœnician coast. He then turned upon Babylonia, which challenged him by an attack, and compelled its new family of kings to acknowledge vassalage to the Assyrian throne. After Tiglathpileser another long period of inaction in the monarchy appears to have ensued, and little is known of its state for nearly two hundred years.

Nebuchadnezzar I. B. C. 12th century

Tiglathpileser I. B. C. 1120-1100(?)

Aramæan Kingdoms in Syria

When Tiglathpileser I. invaded Syria and Canaan he found no organized nationality in either that could offer much resistance to his

arms; but two centuries later, when his successors were roused again to fresh undertakings of conquest, they were faced by new forces, politically established in both regions of the west. The Aramæans of Mesopotamia had taken possession of the territory of the fallen Hittite empire, and founded several city kingdoms,—Zobah, Damascus, and others,—rivals, at war with each other, but readily leagued against a common foe. The Israelites, after escaping from Egypt, had subjugated and occupied most of the lands of Gilead and Canaan (east and west of the Jordan), and a powerful kingdom had been formed among their tribes. Of events connected with the rise of the Aramæan kingdoms, almost nothing is known; but the chronicles which the Hebrews wrote and preserved are more complete than any others that have reached us from equally ancient times, and better known to the world at large.

Zobah
Damascus

The Exodus of Israel

Probably, as stated before, the Exodus of Israel from Egypt took place in the reign of the pharaoh Merenptah, and its time was most likely within the first half of the thirteenth century B. C. Some reckonings would date it at 1277 B. C. The story as told in the Hebrew Scriptures, of the march of the host led by Moses to Mount Sinai (the locality of which is still in dispute); of the giving of laws to the now independent community; of the building of the tabernacle and of the prescribing of rites for the

B. C. 13th century

Exodus, xiii-xxxix.
Leviticus, i-xxvii.
Numbers, i-xiv, xxiii

worship of Yahveh (Jehovah) as the acknowledged God of Israel; of the removal of the camp from the desert or wilderness of Sinai to that of Paran; of the halt at Kadesh-barnea (which has been identified with the spring now called Ain Qadis, some fifty miles south of Beersheba); of the further Mosaic legislation recorded there; of the first attempt, from Kadesh-barnea, to force an entrance into Canaan, and of its disastrous repulse; of the long nomadic sojourn in the wilderness thereafter, renewing strength for another attack,—the Biblical tale is familiar to all. But one significant fact to be noted before we pass on, is the fact that almost no influence from Egypt, after centuries of residence in that land, appears in the thought or action of these people, when their religious institutions were constructed. It is the Babylonian mother-land of their race which commands nearly every important idea in their minds. "Babylonian influence," remarks Professor Sayce, "is deeply imprinted on the Mosaic laws. The institution of the Sabbath went back to the Sumerian days of Chaldæa; the name itself was of Babylonian origin. The great festivals of Israel find their counterparts on the banks of the Euphrates. Even the year of Jubilee was a Babylonian institution, and Gudea, the priest-king of Lagas, tells us that when he kept it the slave became 'for seven days the equal of his master.' It was only the form and application of the old institutions that were changed in the Levitical legislation. They were adapted to the needs of

Babylonian origin of Mosaic institutions

Israel, and associated with the events of its history. But in themselves they were all of Babylonian descent." In another work, the same writer says: "Babylonia also had its arks, its mercy-seats, and its cherubim. . . . The parallelism between the temples and ritual of Israel and of Babylonia is indeed close. The temple itself was of the same square or rectangular form. . . . The Israelitish altars found their counterpart in Babylonia. So, too, did the table of shewbread, which similarly stood in the sanctuaries of the Chaldæan deities. The sacrifices and offerings were also similar."

Sayce, *Early Israel*, 269

Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, 196-7

So soon as they had passed the western arm of the Red Sea, the Israelites were among people closely kindred to themselves; people who claimed descent from Abraham, but not through Jacob and his sons. The first with whom they came in contact were the Amalekites, a wild tribe of Bedouin Arabs,—desert wanderers, never tamed by civilization,—who attacked them in the first stages of their march and were repulsed. The Amalekites were considered to be a branch of the Edomites, reputed descendants of Esau, Jacob's brother, and bound, therefore, to the Children of Israel by the strongest ties. The territory of the Edomites was in the mountains of Seir, stretching from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba, and the route of the rich trade between the Red Sea and the north was in their hands. This gave them wealth and made them a people of settled habits of life. During their long so-

Amalekites, *Numbers*, xiv, 25, 45

Edomites, *Genesis*, xxxvi. *Deuteronomy*, 1, 4-5

Numbers, xx, 14-22

journ in the desert of Paran, the Israelites were on the borders of Edom, and the kindred people seem to have remained on friendly terms. But when, after years of waiting, Moses consented to a new attempt on the part of his followers to enter the Promised Land, and to do so from the eastern side of the Jordan, the king of Edom refused passage through his dominions to the Israelite host, and compelled it to make a long circuit southward to the Gulf. Moving thence northward, along the eastern skirts of Edom, the invaders reached a kingdom founded by another branch of their numerous kindred, on the shores of the Dead Sea. This was the kingdom of the Moabites, whose ancestress, according to the narrative in the book of Genesis, was the elder of the daughters of Abraham's nephew, Lot. Descendants from the younger daughter, according to the same tradition, had formed another nation, the Ammonites, whose kingdom joined that of Moab on the north. Apparently, the Moabites and Ammonites feared their cousins of Israel, and accepted them as allies against the Amorites, who, lately, had dispossessed them of important parts of their lands. The alliance proved overwhelming to the Amorite king Sihon; his kingdom was destroyed, and Israel appropriated the territory he had taken from Moab and Ammon. Further conquests in Gilead gave a home to the invaders for some time,—how long is not told. But this was not the Promised Land,—the coveted Canaan, which stretched before their

Moabites and Ammonites, *Genesis*, xix, 30-38. *Numbers*, xxi, 4; xxiv, 25. *Deuteronomy*, ii, 8-37

Gilead

eyes, beyond the Jordan, looking west. Before they crossed the river Moses died, and Joshua became the leader of the next advance. The Promised Land of Canaan

Probably Canaan, at the time of the Israelite invasion, was the seat of a civilization advanced, intellectually and materially, as far as any to be found within the range of the high culture which Babylonia had spread abroad. The soil was highly cultivated, many skilled and refined arts were practiced, and an active trade was carried on. The cities were populous and rich. The country had had time to recover from the destructive great invasions that overwhelmed it in the preceding century, when assailants from Asia Minor and the islands of Greece reached Egypt, through Syria and Canaan, as related above. As the result of those invasions, it had been set free from Egyptian rule, and the aggressive Hittite power in Syria had been destroyed. A remnant of the northern invaders had secured a footing in five cities on the southern coast of Canaan; but these Philistines (who caused Canaan to be known in later times as Palestine) had not yet become formidable intruders. There seems to have been peace and prosperity for more than a generation in the land, with consequent increase of luxury and corrupting ways of life. The people were lacking, like most Semitic races, in political capacity, and no union among them was formed. Each considerable town was the seat of some petty principality, and no centralizing authority existed to organize a common defense. It was

(See pages 68-69)

The Philistines

this state of things which enabled the Israelites to conquer the land.

Critically studied, the Old Testament narrative of the conquest of Canaan is not clear, and different writers have drawn from it very different conclusions as to the sequence of events and the action of different tribes. In a sketch of this nature it is impossible to show the questions involved, and all detail must be passed. It can only be said that the war, ruthless and unsparing, in its first stage, under Joshua, appears to have lasted seven years, at the end of which time the conquest of the country was far from complete; but enough mastery of the native population had been gained to give each tribe a footing, and to apportion to each the territory in which it was expected to make its settlement secure. As the situation is stated in Judges, "it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out." Many Biblical students find reason to believe that several of the tribes named as belonging to Israel in the settlement were composed in whole or part of Canaanites, who had leagued themselves with and been adopted into the Hebrew confederation.

First stage of the conquest. *Joshua*, i-xxi

Judges, i, 28

In the partition of the country, the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half of the tribe of Manasseh were given the territory taken on the eastern side of the Jordan. On the western side, the tribe of Naphtali went farthest northward, on and above the shores of Lake Gennesareth. Asher

The partitioning of Canaan. *Joshua*, xiv-xix

claimed the neighboring coast of the Mediterranean, which the Phœnicians held, and from the important ports of which they could not be dislodged. Between the Phœnicians and the Philistines, who possessed valuable seaports at the south, there lay a strip of coast without harbors which may have been reached by the allotments of Zebulon, Issachar, the half tribe of Manasseh, Ephraim and Dan, but which had no commercial worth. The domain of Ephraim and that of Benjamin, immediately south of it (the latter including Jerusalem, not yet taken from the enemy), were central and became the region of most importance in subsequent history. South of the lands of the tribe of Benjamin came the large portion of the tribe of Judah, between the narrow dominion of the Philistines and the Dead Sea. This tribe is represented to have been composed, more or less, of adopted families, not Hebraic in blood, which was no doubt the cause of a growing alienation between Judah and the other tribes that constituted Israel. The tribe of Simeon was given lands in the extreme southwest, but appears to have been so diminished in the wars that the remnant united with Judah and was absorbed. The tribe of Dan, failing to make head against its Philistine neighbors, was absorbed likewise by the stronger Judah, excepting a band which migrated northward and surprised a Phœnician town. The Levites lost their tribal existence entirely and were destined to become a priestly caste.

Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, 1: bk 2, ch. iii-iv

Israel under the Judges

After Joshua, for a long period, the Israelites had no general leader, nor does there seem to have been any regular and established authority in the several tribes; but tribal chieftains were raised up from time to time, who were accepted as both war-captains and rulers, and who received a title equivalent to that of Judge. In this period, of long but uncertain duration, different sections of the tribes were engaged in repeated wars of defense, with one enemy after another, often defeated and temporarily mastered, but rarely receiving any general support. The northern tribes were subjugated for some years by one of the Aramæan kings. The southern tribes were harassed by the Moabites on one side and by the Philistines on the other. Then the Canaanites of the midland and the north rose against their Hebrew neighbors, and the latter, after long humiliation and suffering, were rallied by the prophetess Deborah, "the Jeanne d'Arc of Israel," and delivered by the leadership of Barak. To beat off an attack from the Midianites and Amalekites of the Arabian desert, the northern tribes found a capable captain in Gideon, of Manasseh. An invasion of the Ammonites, repelled by the skill and valor of Jephthah, of Gilead, led to a bloody quarrel between his followers and the Ephraimites, and almost to the destruction of the latter tribe.

Judges, i-iii

Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah *Judges*, iv-xii

But most serious of all the conflicts of the

Hebrew people was that with the Philistines, in the southwest. After those adventurous rivals of Israel in the contest for Canaan had driven the tribe of Dan from their borders, and after Samson, the herculean champion of the Danites, had fallen into their hands and had come to his tragic death, they became bolder in their aggressions, and attacked the central tribe of Ephraim with appalling success. The Israelites were defeated and fearfully slaughtered in a desperate battle; the ark of the covenant was captured and taken away to the Philistine temple of Dagon; and Israel, throughout most of the territory west of Jordan, became subject to the Philistines for a number of years.

Samson. *Judges*, xiii-xvi. *1 Samuel*, iv-vi

Philistine domination

The Hebrew Monarchy

This experience proved final and effective in its teaching of the need of a national union of the tribes under one governing head. They were now drawn together, not only by their common humiliation, but by the great personal influence of the prophet Samuel, who won authority over them as both priest and judge. When Samuel grew old they demanded that he should choose for them a king, and he yielded unwillingly to their wish. Thus the Hebrew monarchy was founded, by the anointing of Saul. The rising against the Philistine garrisons which followed, under Saul's leadership, but most inspired by the valor of the king's heroic and noble son Jonathan, had considerable success; but a state of national

Samuel. *1 Samuel*, i-iii, viii-xv

Saul

freedom was not attained. The attainment was made impossible, indeed, by a breach that soon occurred between Saul and Samuel, the blame for which seems chargeable more to the prophet than to the king.

David

And now the most famous figure in Hebrew legend and history, after that of Moses, comes into the tale: the shepherd lad, David, poet and singer, brilliant, beautiful and brave,—fitted in all ways to charm, to win and to lead. Secretly anointed by the masterful prophet-priest; set upon a path of hidden rivalry with the unconscious king; introduced to the royal household as one who may cheer the moody monarch with his harp and song; captivating the heart of the king, and of Jonathan, the knightly prince, and of Michal, the king's daughter, whom he weds;—it is so that the beginning of his career is told. Then jealousy is kindled in Saul's heart, by the fame and popularity of this too fascinating member of his house. Suspicion follows jealousy, and wrath because of the faithfulness of Jonathan, who cleaves to his friend. David, fleeing from the king's attempts to slay him, becomes the chief of a band of outlaws, free lances, who finally enter the service of a Philistine prince, of Gath; and this while Philistines and Israelites are still at war. Though David is not shown to have fought his own countrymen, in the ranks of their enemies, the biography thus far is not ennobling to his fame.

1 Samuel, xvi-xxx

Saul's death by his own hand, after a disastrous

battle with the Philistines, in which three of his sons, including Jonathan, were slain, opened David's path to the throne; but only his own tribe of Judah acknowledged his kingship at first. Saul's surviving son, Ishbosheth, was proclaimed king and supported by the remaining tribes, and "there was long war," says the chronicle in 2 Samuel, "between the house of Saul and the house of David." After seven years and six months of this civil war, Ishbosheth was murdered by captains of his own bands, and David was anointed king of all Israel. His accession is dated by some reckonings a little before and by some a little after 1000 B. C. He is stated to have been thirty years old when his reign over Judah began, and he reigned in all forty years.

David, King of Judah. *1 Samuel*, xxxi. *2 Samuel*, i-v

David, King of all Israel. B. C. 1000-960 (?)

David's first action as the national sovereign was the important capture from the Amorite Jebusites of their fortress on Mount Zion, which he made his seat of government and called "the city of David," but which has borne the name of Jerusalem to this day. The united nation resumed war with the Philistines, and its armies, led by Joab, the able general of King David, went from victory to victory, until those old enemies were driven back to their original foothold on the southwestern coast, beyond which they passed no more. Then the lust of conquest was aroused, and all the neighbors of Israel were assailed in turn. First the Moabites were smitten and two thirds of them were put to death. Next, the kings of Damascus and Zobah, and other Ara-

Conquest of Jerusalem

2 Samuel, v-viii

mæan princes of Syria, even to the Euphrates, were overcome and "became David's servants and brought gifts." This gave him one of the greatest of the prizes of ancient warfare in the east, by making him master of the principal caravan routes of western Asiatic trade. By extending his power to Damascus, where they centered, he not only laid his hand on a source of vast wealth, but he raised himself to a high rank of importance among his neighbors of Egypt, Phœnicia, Assyria and Babylonia, and his fame went, doubtless, much farther abroad.

2 Samuel, x-xii

The subjugation of the Syrian cities was followed by a more complete conquest of Edom, which was annexed to David's kingdom, after Joab is said to have "cut off every male." This added still more to the Israelite monarch's command of the means of wealth, and to the importance of his relations with the great merchant race of Phœnicia, by giving him possession of the ports on the Gulf of Akaba, at the head of the Red Sea. Finally the Ammonites, who foolishly provoked his anger, felt the weight of his merciless arm. Help came to them from Syria, but could not save them from a crushing defeat, and when their royal city was taken, by King David in person, "he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln; and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon." Among the conquerors of antiquity there seem to

2 Samuel, xii, 31

have been few whose temper in war was more cruel than that of David, "the sweet singer of Israel."

He had now become a great king, rich and powerful, admired and feared; ruling a considerable empire; courted by neighboring sovereigns; surrounded with magnificent state. He declined in character as his fortunes rose, sinking into the voluptuous life of the harem, which has been fatal to most princes of the east. His people were displeased with the change in both the monarchy and the king, and their loyalty cooled. Intrigues, beginning in the corrupted royal household, spread disaffection abroad, and set on foot a rebellion, led by Absalom, the king's favorite son. It made such headway at first that David fled from his capital and took refuge on the eastern side of the Jordan; but the veterans of his soldiery and his faithful general, Joab, stood by him, and the undisciplined forces of Absalom were beaten in a desperate fight. Absalom, in flight from the battlefield, was slain by the stern Joab, to the great sorrow of the king. This crushed the revolt; and when it was followed by an outbreak of jealous animosity towards "the men of Judah" in the other tribes, which considered themselves to be distinctively "the men of Israel," that, too, was checked by Joab's strong hand. The remainder of the reign was undisturbed outwardly; but, as David grew old and feeble, the question of succession to the throne gave rise to factions in the harem and the

Absalom

2 Samuel, xiii-xviii

army which troubled his peace and boded ill for the kingdom after his death. It was a question not settled by custom or law. The claims of the king's elder son, Adonijah, would seem to have been better founded than any other, and they were supported by Joab, by one of the two high priests, and by all excepting one of the other sons of the king. The single exception was Solomon, the youngest, whose mother, Bathsheba, intrigued with success to place him on the throne. David was persuaded to pronounce in Solomon's favor and to cause him to be anointed, solemnly and publicly, by one of the high priests. Nathan, the prophet, headed a party in his support, and the strongest men of Joab's command were won away from the latter to Solomon's side. Therefore, when David died (about 960 B. C.), his eldest son, Adonijah, and his lifelong champion, Joab, perished in a conflict which gave the crown of Israel to his youngest son.

Solomon

1 Kings, i,ii

The Phœnicians

Of the Canaanites who possessed the "promised land" of Israel when Joshua led the tribes to its conquest, one part, as said before, was settled in several cities on its northern coast, and became famous in later history as the Phœnicians, who outdid all other people of their time in bold navigation and trade on the Mediterranean Sea. It is certain that they had been well established at Sidon and Tyre, and probably in one or two others of their seaport towns, some centuries

Sidon and Tyre

before the Hebrew host invaded the land. The latter appear to have respected their strength, and the Phœnicians, on their side, took no part in the defense of their inland brethren, so long as their own fringe of territory on the seashore was undisturbed. They cared, seemingly, for nothing but commercial opportunities, and showed no kind of political ambition throughout their career. They were subject to Egypt while the Asiatic dominion of the pharaohs endured, and they were easily subjected to other aggressive powers in after days; but in the time when the Israelites were planting themselves in Canaan, and the monarchy of David was rising, the Phœnicians were enjoying an independent political life. Their cities were in no union, however, but each had its own suffetes (judges) or its own king. Kingship arose in Tyre, it is believed, about the time that Israel acquired a king.

B. C. 15th-14th centuries

At least as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C., and probably earlier, the Phœnicians were active in a sea-carrying trade. They exchanged commodities with the Aramæan and Arabian land-carriers, who handled the products of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and the farther east, together with imports by the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, which came even from India and the east African coast at a very remote time. The traffic of the Phœnician merchants of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, and their neighbors, was principally, no doubt, in its early stages, with Egypt, with the island of Cyprus, and with the Libyan peoples

Phœnician commerce

on the north African coast, which they skirted closely in their voyages, not venturing much into the open sea. According to Greek and Roman writers, they planted colonies or trading settlements at Hippo and Ityke (Utica), opposite to the island of Sicily, in the twelfth century B. C. Their greater colony in that region, at Carthage, was not founded until the ninth century B. C., and not much later, if at all, they had ports and settlements of their own in Sicily and Sardinia; they had even passed the straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic ocean and founded Gades (modern Cadiz) on the southwestern coast of Spain.

Phœnician colonies

Reasons have been found for believing that the early traffic of the Phœnicians with the Greek lands, in and around the Ægean, was through their meeting with Cretan and other traders from that region in Cyprus, where interchanges were made. Former beliefs as to Phœnician influence on Greek culture in its infancy, and, generally, as to the importance of the part played by the Phœnicians in the development of civilization throughout the Mediterranean world, have been modified by the archæological discoveries of late years. More independence than historians had suspected heretofore, in the rise of different communities on the great inland sea from barbaric states of life, is shown by increasing proofs. It is now doubted, and more than doubted, that the Phœnicians were the inventors, as long supposed, of the alphabetical system from which the alphabets of so many ancient and modern languages

Phœnicians not inventors of the alphabet

were derived. As active agents of communication between different peoples of advancing culture on the Mediterranean they contributed greatly, no doubt, to the progress of civilization during some centuries of time; but they are believed now to have originated less, and to have been teachers of less, than historians had credited to their account.

The Greek Lands

As the Phœnicians lose rank among the builders of the civilization of the ancient Mediterranean world, the early inhabitants of the shores and islands of the Ægean Sea, whether Pelasgians or Hellenes, are gaining. Until the excavations of Dr. Schliemann on the site of ancient Troy, in 1873, and at Mycenæ, in 1876, began to disclose remains of the Greek world, as it was in the age to which the Homeric poems relate, those poems had seemed to be a doubtful source of nearly all the knowledge that could be gleaned of life in Hellas at an earlier stage of culture than Herodotus and Thucydides depict.

Schliemann's excavations

The epic of the siege of Troy was composed at some uncertain time in the ninth, tenth or eleventh century before Christ. Its subject is an episode supposed to have been taken by the poet or poets from the traditions of a time long preceding their own. That the actors and the actions in it were really historical, and that its wonderful pictures of life were not paintings from the poet's own day, with high colorings of im-

agination, seemed reasonably open to great doubt. But the spade-work of archæology, carried on busily in Hellenic lands since Schliemann's discoveries were made, has given surprising verifications of Homer, and thrown undreamed-of light on periods far behind the Homeric age. The personal reality of Agamemnon still depends on Homer's word; but we know now that his kingdom of Mycenæ belongs to history; that it was a power in its day and in its region of the world; that it represents a great influence in the early civilization of mankind; and it helps to explain to us the marvelous equipment of culture with which the Greeks seemed to leap into history, as their story was told heretofore.

Homer and the Iliad

We are still without records or messages from the Homeric heroes; but, as Dr. Tsountas, one of the successors in Dr. Schliemann's work, has written: "We have before our eyes the impregnable strongholds which sheltered these ancient people, as at Tiryns and Mycenæ, or which long withstood their siege, as at Troy. We have the palaces of their kings, in ruins, to be sure, but still with their foundations as well as their hearths and altars intact, and enough of their decorations to enable us to build them up again and adorn them anew. . . . We have recovered their actual swords and scepters; the bracelets they wore and the signets they used; the goblets and tankards that went round the festal company as they quaffed the honey-hearted wine or made libation to their gods. And, where the actual

Memorials of the Homeric heroes

HOMER

From the painting by François Pascal Gérard (1770-1837)

objects fail, their artists come in to fill the gap: before our eyes they bring the princes in their chariots chasing the deer or proceeding to war; lion and bull hunts; scenes of siege and battle, of worship and sacrifice, of so many moments of their existence, indeed, that an orderly series of them would go far to make a compendious chronicle of the time. Thus we follow the Mycenæan through life, nor at death does the light go out. . . . Kindly earth has sheltered the dwellings of the dead."

Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age*, 347

As the result of all that has come to light, through scholarly labors of excavation at many points, throughout Greece and on the islands and eastern coasts of the Ægean, the rise of Greek art and of Greek culture in general can now be traced with increasing certainty and clearness from a time long anterior to the age of the Mycenæan kings, and probably more than 2000 years before Christ. Late discoveries show that what a recent writer on the subject has described as "the evolution from the more primitive to the fully developed form of prehistoric Greek culture" was centralized earliest in the island of Crete. Greek legend and tradition were full of intimations of the fact; but historians could find nothing tangible in what seemed to be a medley of incomprehensible myths. That Minos, the powerful Cretan king, extorted a yearly tribute of Athenian youths and maidens, to be devoured by a strange monster called the Minotaur, whom he confined in a wonderful labyrinth; that Theseus, the hero,

Crete

slew the Minotaur and escaped from the labyrinth by help of the clue of Ariadne,—what an empty fable it all seemed to be! But the ruins of a great palace at Knossos, in Crete, having an elaborate underground maze, which answers to the description of the labyrinth of King Minos, has now been explored. Its remains prove reality, at least, in the existence of a power which terrorized early Greece, and whose princes were able to execute works so remarkable in their day as to give rise to fabulous stories in neighboring lands.

Finding the labyrinth of King Minos

The findings in Knossos, and elsewhere in Crete, show a state of civilization earlier than that which centered at Mycenæ, but very vigorous and already well advanced. It was the civilization of a race of sea-kings—a thalassocracy, so called,—and there seems to be little doubt that it arose among a people who were not of the Hellenic or Greek stock. They were active, no doubt, in both piracy and trade. Their interchange of products with Egypt is especially evident, and Egyptian influence appears in their arts, but not to the suppression of an independent and original character in all that they did.

Cretan sea-kings

The most surprising and important discovery made at Knossos is the fact that these early Cretans were in possession of the art of writing, and practiced it in two systems, described as follows by Sir Arthur J. Evans, the director of the explorations: "I came upon a series of deposits of clay tablets, representing the royal archives, the inscriptions on which belong to two distinct

systems of writing—one hieroglyphic and quasi-pictorial; the other for the most part linear and much more highly developed. Of these the hieroglyphic class especially presents a series of forms answering to what, according to the names of the Phœnician letters, we must suppose to have been the original pictorial designs from which those, too, were derived." "The great bulk of the tablets belonged to the linear class, exhibiting an elegant and much more highly developed form of script, with letters of an upright and singularly European aspect. The inscriptions, over 1000 of which were collected, were originally contained in coffers of clay, wood and gypsum, which had been in turn secured by clay seals, impressed with finely engraved signets and counter-marked and countersigned by controlling officials in the same script, while the clay was still wet. . . . The problems attaching to the decipherment of these clay records are of enthralling interest, and we have here locked up for us materials which may some day enlarge the bounds of history."

Apparent originals of Phœnician alphabet

Evans, in *London Times*, Sept. 15, and Oct. 31, 1900

Of the general significance of the archæological discoveries made so recently in Crete, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, the Director of the British School at Athens, has written: "Far into the third millennium B. C., at the very least, and more probably much earlier still, there was a civilization in the Ægean and on the Greek mainland which, while it contracted many debts to the east and to Egypt, was able to assimilate all that it borrowed,

Hogarth, *Authority and Archæology*, pt. 2 : 238.

and to reissue it in an individual form, expressed in products which are not of the same character with those of any eastern civilization that we know."

Cretan ascendancy in the Ægean gave way to that of the Mycenæan kings, probably at some date near the middle of the second millennium B. C. The flourishing period of what is being called "the Mycenæan Age" of culture is believed on good evidence to have extended from about the sixteenth century B. C. to about the twelfth. Egypt supplies this evidence in two modes, resulting firstly from the fact that the dating of its dynasties is approximately fixed, and secondly from the further fact that certain characteristic features of Egyptian art, especially in the forms and decoration of pottery, are identified with particular periods of time. Specimens of Egyptian pottery and other articles of the known workmanship of that country, found in Mycenæan ruins and tombs, and corresponding specimens of Mycenæan art found in Egyptian tombs of a known period, all point to the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth dynasties of the pharaohs as being contemporary with the flourishing period of the Mycenæan realm; and this gives to the latter about the range of time stated above.

The Mycenæan Age. B. C. 16th-12th centuries(?)

Egypt and Greece

Within this "Mycenæan Age" the development of Greek culture on its artistic side went even beyond that of Egypt or Babylonia, not in technical skill, but in freedom of spirit and in fine

apprehension of the beauty of the natural world. Otherwise it does not seem to have made an equal advance. Its cyclopean architecture was ruder than that of Egypt; much fewer refinements of life appear; and, strangely, there are no inscriptions found,—no tokens, in fact, of any knowledge or use of writing in any form, except a few signs or characters on vessels of pottery, resembling pottery-marks which Mr. Petrie found in prehistoric Egyptian relics of a far more ancient time. In view of the many inscribed tablets found in Crete this can hardly be explained.

Early Greek Art

In their traditions of "golden Mycenæ" the Greeks of a later time recognized its princes and dominant people as being of their own Hellenic stock, belonging to what they knew as the Achæan branch. From two sons and two grandsons of Hellen, the reputed father of their race, they derived four tribal divisions, Æolian, Dorian, Ionian and Achæan, of which the last two, acknowledging descent from the same scion of the house of Hellen, but not bearing his name, were held to be most nearly akin. By relationship of language the Hellenes are identified with the great Aryan family, and their entrance into the Greek peninsula occurred in some connection with the mysterious dispersive movement of those masterful people who imposed their speech on so many populations in Europe and Asia. The four Hellenic divisions seem to have dwelt together at first in Thessaly, whence parts of the Æolian,

Tribes of the Hellenes

Ionian and Achæan tribes made the earliest advance southwards, subduing the older inhabitants (the Pelasgians, of disputed race and origin, for the most part), and settling themselves in different sections of the country known finally as Greece. The Æolians were much scattered in the states they founded; the Ionians occupied Attica and parts of the Peloponnesus; the Achæans, too, passed into the Peloponnesus, and established their domination in the district of Argos, founding the kingdom and attaining the civilization to which Mycenæ has given its name.

The Pelasgians

Æolians, Ionians, Achæans

The Achæan throne at Mycenæ and the state of culture in Greece which it illustrated are supposed to have been overwhelmed, at some time near the end of the twelfth century B. C. or early in the eleventh, very much as the Roman empire, in later times, was buried under an avalanche of barbarism from the north. The barbaric invaders in this case were the Dorian tribes which had stayed in Thessaly when their brethren moved south, and which had not advanced in culture as the latter had done. About the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B. C. there seems to have been a long period of widespread and great disturbance among the peoples between the Mediterranean and the Euxine or Black Sea, probably produced by some eruption from the farther north. The invasions of Syria, Canaan, and Egypt, from the Ægean lands and elsewhere, were probably one of its results; the migration of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus was another.

The Dorian migration. B. C. 12th century(?)

The latter, driven from Thessaly by people who then gave their name to that district, moved southward and occupied most of the region below the isthmus, founding several Dorian states, of which Sparta, or Lacedæmon, Argos, and Corinth, were the chief. According to Greek tradition, Attica became overcrowded by Ionian refugees from this Dorian invasion, and the result was an emigration thence to neighboring islands and to the opposite Asiatic coast, which subsequently gave the latter its Ionian name.

(See pages 68-69)

Sparta, Argos, Corinth, Attica

The Dorians, at the time of their destructive march through Greece and conquest of the Peloponnesus, appear to have been so rude in culture, and so slow in receiving and assimilating what they found in their new homes, that they brought upon the country a period of decadence in civilization, somewhat like that of the dark ages which followed the fall of Rome, but neither so serious nor so long. That Athens and Attica, and the coast and island colonies peopled therefrom, were saved from the barbarizing invasion, seems to be one important reason why the new—the classic—civilization, which rose in Greece some four centuries later, found its leadership and its chief seats in the Ionian states. But there must have been something of intellectual superiority, moreover, in the Ionian stock.

A "dark age" in Greece

Elsewhere in Europe

Of the inhabitants of other parts of Europe,—of their circumstances and condition,—of the

movements, conquests and displacements of each other that went on among them, within the period now under review,—there is no knowledge yet obtained that can possibly be defined in time or event. It is probable that the Italian peninsula was occupied by peoples akin to those called Pelasgians in Greece, and probable that they had made a considerable advance in arts and modes of life, before the beginning of the last millennium B. C. It is probable that the Aryan migrations, whatever their starting point, their course and their effect on older populations may have been, had already brought into Italy the invaders who imposed the Latin and cognate languages on the land. It is probable that other branches of the same movement had reached those parts of Europe on which the stamp of the languages called Celtic and Germanic was left; but whether the prior population was extinguished, or displaced, or merely subjugated and absorbed by the movement, it is impossible to know. It is probable that the lake-dwellers of Switzerland and northern Italy had begun the building of their villages on piles, in the shallower waters of the lakes, far back in this early period, and that before the period ended their first stone implements and weapons were beginning to be displaced by those of copper, or, possibly, of copper hardened into bronze. It is probable, too, that Stonehenge, and other rude stone structures of like kind, in Britain, France and elsewhere, had already been built, by people in the later stage of

The Italian peninsula

The lake dwellers

neolithic culture, who used no metals, and yet were able to quarry, transport and handle huge masses of rock. Excavations at Stonehenge in September, 1901, made in preparation for work to prevent further falling of the upright monoliths, unearthed a great number of stone tools, which must have been the implements of the original builders; but of metal there was no sign. Stonehenge

These are reasonable conjectures as to happenings in Europe prior to a thousand years before Christ, but they are no more.

In Asia Minor

Obscurely known as yet, there were several nations in Asia Minor which had importance in these early times, and concerning which there is undoubtedly much for archæologists to learn by the inquisitive spade, in coming years. The Lydians, whom some would connect with the Semites of Mesopotamia, and others with the mysterious Hittites, had founded a monarchy which ran a long career, and which rose in the end to quite formidable power. The Phrygians were of Aryan speech, and have been looked upon as a link between the ancient Persians and the Greeks. The Trojans belonged to the Phrygian race, and their civilization in the eleventh or twelfth century B. C. is illustrated by the remains which Dr. Dörpfield has uncovered on the site of ancient Troy. If the Phrygians may be judged from the opinion of the Greeks, they were a sensuous and effeminate race, having few manly traits; and

Lydians

Phrygians

Trojans

yet they do not show badly in Homer's tale of Troy.

Armenia

Armenia, moreover, was inhabited by people who had the same Aryan relationship of speech; but their early history connects itself mostly with that of the Semites of the great valley which slopes southward from their hills.

The Asiatic Aryans

Between the borders of Armenia and Babylonia on one side and the frontiers of ancient China on the other, the Asiatic world is wrapt in deep darkness through all this long period. Something may be inferred as to probable conditions from what appeared later; but really nothing is known. There can be hardly a doubt that the people who planted Aryan roots of speech on the table-land of Iran and in the valley of the Indus, were already in those habitats when Tiglathpileser invaded Armenia, or when David mounted the Judean throne, and that Medes and Persians were growing slowly to the strength which by and by would break the old Semitic powers; but on no such points can there be any certainty of time. Some conjectures have put the arrival of the Aryas in the "land of five rivers" (the Punjab) at about 2000 B. C., others at 1500 B. C.; the room for difference of opinion is very wide. Down to a time much later than the latest of these dates, neither the Aryas of Iran nor those of India recorded anything that has been preserved, in any form of writing, so far as yet known; but some

Medes and Persians

India

glimpses of their early life and some reasonable guesses at their story are drawn from language-marks, traditions and myths, found embedded in a rich literature, which seems to have been preserved for many centuries by oral transmission before the art of writing was attained.

There are two distinct bodies of that literature, derived from the Asiatic Aryans of antiquity, one coming from the dwellers in Iran, the other from the branch which crossed the mountains into the valley of the Indus and spread thence over most of the northern part of the peninsula called India or Hindustan. In its surviving state, the antiquity of the oldest Hindu literature is greater than that of Iran. It exists, in an early form of the Sanscrit language, as a collection (the Rig-veda, or Hymn-veda) of hymns and prayers to the gods, "veda" signifying knowledge, especially the knowledge of things divine. Compared with the religion (Brahmanism) that grew from it at a later day, it represents a primitive stage in the development of religious ideas. The gods addressed in the Vedic hymns stand simply for the forces and phenomena of the natural world. In all, their divinities—*devas*, meaning literally "the shining ones,"—numbered about thirty-three; but Indra, who represented in their thoughts the periodical rains, or the giver of those rains, on which, as an agricultural people, they were dependent, came to be praised and venerated the most.

The Vedic Hymns

Monier-Williams *Hinduism*, ch. ii

The ancient Iranian sacred literature, pre-

served in books that bear the name of the Avesta, or Zendavesta (that is, the *Avesta*, or sacred text, and its *zend*, or interpretation, in a more modern tongue), is avowedly the product of a reform of the primitive religion of the Aryas, brought about by a great teacher, Zarathustra, or Zoroaster, who is believed to have lived not earlier than the seventh or sixth century before Christ. No doubt much of the poetry and teaching of an older time is incorporated with the Zoroastrian hymns, liturgies and laws; but they seem to cast no such light on former ages as the Rig-veda has thrown.

The Avesta

China

In the opinion of Professor Robert K. Douglas, the purely fabulous chapters of Chinese history come to a close with the advent to power of the Emperor Yao, with whose reign Confucius began the *Book of History* ascribed to him. This probably represents the more conservative Chinese belief. Yao was succeeded by a sovereign named Shun, and the latter by the "Great Yu," who was raised to the throne because of the remarkable ability and energy he had shown in dealing with a terrific flood. These three emperors are the models of princely virtue in Chinese esteem. Yu founded the Hsia Dynasty which occupied the throne for nearly three hundred years. It was succeeded by the Shang or Yin Dynasty, and that, in turn, after some six centuries, by the

Dynasty of Chow, whose founder, Woo Wang, left a memory which is reverenced like that of Yao, Shun and Yu.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE ADVENT OF CYRUS

(Approximately, B. C. 960 to 558)

The Period: Transfer of leadership in civilization to Aryan races. *The Hebrew Kingdoms, and Assyria and Babylonia:* Character and reign of Solomon.—Division of the monarchy.—The kingdoms of Israel and Judah.—Introduction of idolatry.—The prophets Elijah and Elisha.—Assyrian conquests.—Transplantation of conquered peoples.—Overthrow of the kingdom of Israel.—No mystery concerning the "lost ten tribes."—Resistance of Jerusalem to Sennacherib.—The prophet Isaiah.—Destruction of Babylon. *Egypt:* The Assyrian conquest.—Independence recovered.—Exploring expedition round Africa.—The first Suez canal. *Assyria, Media, Chaldean, Babylonia and the Kingdom of Judah:* Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus).—His great library at Nineveh.—Last years of the Assyrian empire.—Destruction of Nineveh.—Secrets of history preserved in its ruins.—Nebuchadnezzar.—His destruction of Jerusalem.—Babylonian exile of the Jewish people.—End of the kingdom of David.—Magnificence of the new Babylon. *In the Lands of the Greeks:* A new era of culture opened by the Greeks.—Evolution of the first democracies.—The Ionian genius.—The Homeric epics.—The two great literatures of antiquity, Hebrew and Greek.—Political development of Athens. *The Latin Region:* Beginnings of Rome.—The unions that gave birth to it.—Origin of patricians and plebeians. *Phœnicians and Carthaginians:* The founding of Carthage.—Settlements in Spain.—Phœnician manufactures. *India:* Development of Brahmanism.—Creation of caste. *China:* General disorder.

The last centuries of Semitic ascendancy

One of the greatest of the revolutions in human history—perhaps the greatest of all in deep import—was accomplished in the period that will be surveyed in this chapter. It was now that the Semitic and Hamitic races lost their leadership in civilization and empire, and the peoples of Aryan speech began to assume the historical preëminence that they have held to the present day.

The Hebrew Kingdoms

In the character of King Solomon, there was nothing of the military energy of David, his father. He relaxed it so entirely that a large part

of David's conquests was lost. Damascus regained independence and became a troublesome hostile state. Much of Edom, too, was torn from Solomon's kingdom; but he kept control of access to the Red Sea. He was careful, indeed, to protect and foster the commerce of the country to the utmost of his power, as a source of wealth. To that end he cultivated friendly relations and close alliance with the Phœnicians of Tyre and with Egypt, receiving from the latter a princess to become one of his numerous wives. His policy was one of peace, and it might have given happiness to his people if his boundless extravagance had not consumed its fruits. His expenditure on the great temple at Jerusalem, which constituted his chief monument, must have been inconsiderable compared with the cost of his harem and court, the luxury and magnificence of which were the wonder of the neighboring world. In style and display he seems to have been the "grand monarch" of his day, and his little realm suffered heavy oppressions to feed the selfish vanity of its king.

The reign of Solomon *1 Kings*, iv-xi

At Solomon's death an explosion of rebellion reopened the old cleft between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, on one side, and the remaining ten tribes on the other. It was never closed again. Henceforth there were two Hebrew kingdoms, that of Israel and that of Judah, Benjamin being joined with Judah in forming the latter, which kept Jerusalem for its capital and adhered to David's royal house. Solomon's son, Rehoboam,

National disruption B. C. 925(?)

1 Kings, xi, 26-40, xii, 1-20

was the first of its kings, while Israel crowned Jeroboam, a soldier who had fled to Egypt after plotting revolution in the late reign. The southern kingdom was small and weak, and, although it had David's capital, Solomon's temple, and the remembered splendor of the late reigns, to give it prestige, it suffered most in the conflicts between the two, and dropped to a lower historical rank. Judah, as Professor Robertson Smith remarks, "was not only inferior in political power, but in the share it took in the active movements of national life and thought. . . . It was the northern nation that had the task of upholding the standard of Israel; its whole history presents greater interest and more heroic elements; its struggles, its calamities, and its glories were cast in a larger mould."

The kingdoms of Judah and Israel

W.R.Smith *Prophets of Israel*, lect. 5

The Judean kingdom sustained a great disaster in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, when Egypt, after long torpidity, became suddenly aggressive again, and Palestine was invaded and ravaged by Shishak, or Sheshonk, the last of the pharaohs who displayed any vigor in arms. Even Jerusalem was taken by Shishak and much of Solomon's treasure carried away; but no permanent subjugation of the kingdom occurred. Rehoboam retained the throne, and his descendants, in long succession, afterwards; which stability of government was a blessing not shared by the rival kingdom in the north. There, three revolutionary changes of dynasty occurred within forty years. The last of these gave Israel a strong

1 Kings, xiv, 25-28

ruler in Omri, the general of its army, who seems to have established a firmer basis of government, and who founded the city of Samaria to be its permanent capital. But even Omri could not make head against the rising Aramæan power now centered at Damascus, which encroached more and more on the territory of Israel east of the Jordan, taking advantage of the Hebrew divisions, and sometimes going into alliance with one against the other in their fratricidal wars.

Revolutions in Israel. *1 Kings*, xv, 25-34, xvi, 1-28

Omri's son Ahab had the wisdom to make peace with Judah and to establish close relations of friendship with Tyre; but his marriage to Jezebel, the Tyrian king's daughter, had unfortunate results. Under Jezebel's influence he introduced the worship of the Tyrian Baal, building a temple in Samaria and admitting to the country a great number of the priests of the idolatrous cult. This unfaithfulness to Jehovah and encouragement to idolatry was nothing new. Of Solomon we are told that "his wives turned away his heart to other gods," and that he built "an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab," and "for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon," and "likewise did he for all his strange wives," of whom he had seven hundred. Moreover, when the kingdom of Israel was set up against that of Judah, its first king, Jeroboam, "made two calves of gold," and said to the people, "behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt; and he set the one in Bethel, and the other he put in Dan;" and

Idolatry in both kingdoms. *1 Kings*, xi, 1-8, xii, 26-30, xiv, 22-24, xvi, 29-33

this idolatry was maintained under all the succeeding kings. In Judah, too, they "built them high places, and images, and groves," and "they did according to all the abominations of the nations." But now there broke forth in Israel a fearless voice in denunciation of the worship of Baal. It was that of the prophet Elijah, who seems to have stood nearly alone at the beginning in defiant opposition to king and queen. Little as the sentiment of the nation supported them, Elijah and Elisha, his disciple, were triumphant in the end; the priests of Baal were slain and the idolatrous worship suppressed. This triumph was not attained, however, until after Ahab's death.

The prophets, Elijah and Elisha. *1 Kings*, xvii-xxi

Ahab perished in a battle with the king of Damascus, against whom he now had the help of Judah, but without avail, even though Damascus and all the Syrian states were beginning to be shaken by Assyrian attacks. Two sons of Ahab reigned after him, in Israel, their mother Jezebel still living and exercising an influence that was evil in many ways. Then a bloody revolution, said to have been instigated by Elisha, exterminated the family of Ahab and raised Jehu, the commander of the troops, to the throne. It was now that Baal was overthrown and Israel returned to the worship of Jehovah, or Yahveh, the one God. At nearly the same time, in Jerusalem, where a daughter of Jezebel, reigning as a dowager queen, had attempted to extinguish the royal family of the house of David, a similar revolution

2 Kings, i-xi

restored the worship of Jehovah and slew the priests of the false gods.

Through Jehu's reign and that of his son the long and losing struggle of Israel with Damascus went on. Jehu had the weakness to appeal for help to the king of Assyria, sending gifts that were taken as tribute rendered by a vassal prince. Not many years afterwards the vassalage became a fact.

Assyria

After Tiglathpileser I., for two centuries (as stated before), no important wars of conquest appear to have been waged by the Assyrian kings. The first of his successors to emulate his ambition was Assur-natsir-pal, who mounted the throne in 883 B. C. This monarch, who made war with hideous ferocity, heaping up pyramids of the heads of the slain, extended his ravages far into Armenia and through northern Syria, to the alarm of the Phœnicians, who sent him tribute from Sidon and Tyre. His son, Shalmaneser II., repeated the campaigns of plunder and destruction in Armenia, penetrated southeastern Asia Minor, and began the attacks in southern Syria which finally shattered the kingdoms of Hamath and Damascus and brought the Assyrian armies to the borders of the Palestine states. It was to this king that Jehu's gifts were sent. In other campaigns Shalmaneser invaded the country of the Medes (northwestern Persia in modern geography), bringing that people into the Assy-

Assyrian conquests. B. C. 883-781

Encounter with the Medes

rian inscriptions for the first time, so far as known, and he reduced Babylonia to vassalage once more. His son had to do battle again with the Babylonians, and to fight again with the Medes, as well as with their neighbors, the Kurds. His grandson, Rimmon-nirari, still continued war with Medes and Kurds, and claimed to have subdued the whole region to the Caspian Sea. But the great exploit of this last named monarch was the conquest of Damascus, which fell after long and brave resistance, and never recovered from the blow. It is possible, but not certain, that the king of Israel became tributary to Assyria at the same time. The death of Rimmon-nirari in 781 B. C. was followed by another period of stagnation in the Assyrian monarchy, which lasted until 746, when the old dynasty was overthrown by a widespread revolt, and a new era in Assyrian history was opened by a king of unknown origin, who took the name of Tiglathpileser III.

Conquest of Damascus. B.C.797(?)

Israel and Judah

The Assyrian conquest of Damascus, breaking the aggressive power of that wealthy Aramæan kingdom, afforded great relief to both Israel and Judah, and was followed by some years in which they recovered a considerable part of the territory they had lost. The northern kingdom grew in strength to such a degree that Jeroboam II., the fourth prince of the dynasty of Jehu, appears to have been the most powerful of all the Samarian kings. But Jeroboam's son was slain by an

usurper, and a state of civil strife ensued, the consequence of which is thus told tersely in the second book of Kings: "And Pul [Tiglathpileser] the king of Assyria came against the land: and Menahem [a second usurper who had slain Shallum, the first one] gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land."

Vassalage of Israel. *2 Kings*, xv, 19-20

Meantime, the kingdom of Judah had been rising to more importance and exhibiting more strength than at any former time in its history. It had made gains from the Philistines and the Ammonites, and under Uzziah acquired for a time the leading place among the Semitic states in the west. It is thought to have taken part in a vain attempt to resist Tiglathpileser in his Syrian campaign, though what seems to be an Assyrian record to that effect is open to some dispute.

2 Chronicles xxvi

The Second Assyrian Empire

The campaigns and conquests of Tiglathpileser III. assumed a character very different from those of his predecessors who had gained fame in war. It did not satisfy him to overrun neighboring countries with an army which plundered and destroyed, exacting tribute and submission which another army would need to exact again, and boasting of subjugations which the next king

Tiglathpileser III. B. C. 746-727

McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, 1:323-381

would have to repeat. He made conquest a reality, and organized empire to endure for a little time, at least. He seems to have been the first of conquerors to devise measures by which such durability of subjugation could be secured. One most important method he employed was that of transplanting great masses of conquered people to a new settlement, remote from their native home, and then colonizing the vacated country with Assyrian subjects whose allegiance to Assur might be trusted to hold fast. He established a dominion so distinct from that existing before that what is termed the Second Assyrian Empire has been dated by historians from his reign.

Transplantation of conquered peoples

The first campaign of this able sovereign was against a number of more or less nomadic tribes, in the southern part of the great valley, which the government at Babylon had lost power to control. His next was against the Medes; his third was that which reached the land of Israel and took ransom and tribute from Samaria. In this latter, the whole of northern and middle Syria, with Cilicia and Cappadocia, was added to his empire, and many thousands of the population transferred from one region to another. By his next undertaking he broke the power of a rising kingdom on Lake Van, in Armenia, known as Ararat, which had grown defiantly strong in recent years. Then he was summoned into Syria and Palestine again. The kings of Damascus and Israel (Rezon and Pekah) had dreams of breaking the Assyrian yoke

Campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III.

Revolt of Israel and Damascus. *2 Kings*, xvi

of vassalage, and when Ahaz of Judah (grandson of Uzziah) would not join their confederacy for that attempt they threatened him with attack. Ahaz appealed to Tiglathpileser for help, though solemnly warned by the prophet Isaiah that ruin to the kingdom would come from his dependence on that dangerous power. The Assyrian king answered the appeal, and Damascus and Samaria suffered heavily at his hands. Both Rezon and Pekah were slain, and their crowns went to new kings, as Tiglathpileser's gift.

Isaiah

A final campaign in Babylonia was directed mostly against the Kaldi,—the Kasdim of the Old Testament,—from whose name that of Chaldea was given ultimately to Babylonia at large. These people are now believed to have been comparatively late-coming nomads from the Arabian desert, who had settled on the lower Tigris and Euphrates, near the Gulf, gradually increasing and growing to a strength beyond the control of the weakened government at Babylon. Tiglathpileser had begun his reign by chastising them; he ended its activities in like manner. In 727 B. C. he died, and was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV., who reigned but five years.

The Kaldi, or Chaldeans

The death of Tiglathpileser was the signal for revolts, the most important of which, historically, was that of Hosea, the vassal-king of Israel. Shalmaneser proceeded to crush the offender, and was laying siege to Samaria when he died. His successor, Sargon the Later, founder of the last and greatest Assyrian dynasty, completed the

Destruction of the kingdom of Israel. B. C. 721

reduction of the city, and accomplished the doom which now fell upon the kingdom of the ten tribes. As stated in the Hebrew Scriptures, he "carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the city of the Medes." As stated in the recovered records of Sargon, he took 27,280 of the leading people, their families and followers, and deported them to regions not named. This, it will be seen, was very far from being a transplantation of the nation, and, consequently, there never were any mysteriously "lost tribes of Israel" to be sought for in distant parts of the world. The greater part of the people were left in northern Palestine, where they simply lost their tribal and national identity. The few thousands removed to Media and to the banks of the Gozan, in Mesopotamia, were absorbed, without doubt. The ten tribes and the kingdom of Israel ceased as such to exist, but the tribes were "lost" in no unexplained sense.

2 Kings, xvii, and xviii, 9-12

The imaginary "lost ten tribes"

Sargon dealt in like manner with revolts in Syria and other parts of his wide dominion, vigorously maintaining the empire which Tiglath-pileser had left and carrying out the policy which that able monarch had planned. He crushed the stubborn resistance in Armenia and Media to Assyrian rule. He attacked the Philistines, capturing Gaza and Ashdod, and transporting 9,000 inhabitants from the former to other parts of his realm. His most serious conflict was with the indomitable Chaldeans of southern Baby-

Sargon the Later. B. C. 722-705

lonia, one of whose chieftains, in alliance with the Elamites, had seized Babylon itself and made himself king in that ancient seat of Semitic power. For twelve years this Chaldean intruder, Merodach-baladan, held the Babylonian throne; but in 709 B. C. he was expelled. Four years later Sargon was murdered by a soldier, and his son, Sennacherib, reigned in his place.

Sennacherib B. C. 705-681

The first task of Sennacherib was to repeat the expulsion of Merodach-baladan from Babylon, where the latter had been reinstated on Sargon's death. Soon afterward the new king was called to the west by a great confederate rebellion, which Merodach-baladan had done much to instigate, and which was weakened seriously by his fall. Another instigation had come from Egypt, which now ventured to move in resistance to the Assyrian kings, whose conquests had been pushed to its very gates. With promises of help from Egypt, the Phœnician and Philistine cities defied their Assyrian master, and Hezekiah, king of Judah, joined their league, against the earnest counsel and warning of Isaiah, greatest of the Hebrew prophets, who saw the hopelessness of the revolt and held it to be contrary to the purposes of the Lord. At the same time, when the wrathful Assyrian appeared in Palestine with a great army, to chastise his rebellious vassals, and when he blockaded Jerusalem, it was Isaiah who inspired the weak-hearted king and people to hold the city against him. The wisdom of the prophet was proved by the result. All resistance to Senna-

McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 : 272-332

The warnings of Isaiah

Siege of Jerusalem. B. C. 701

cherib except the resistance of Jerusalem was vain. The forces sent from Egypt to the help of the confederates were beaten; the Phœnician cities were humbled; those of Philistia were punished severely; the country and the lesser towns of Judah were plundered and devastated, and a vast multitude of their inhabitants was carried into captivity. Sennacherib, in an inscription, tells the tale of his deeds within the kingdom of Hezekiah. He says: "I took 200,150 people, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number, from the midst of them I brought out, and I counted them as spoil. Himself [Hezekiah], as a bird in a cage, in the midst of Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up." Inasmuch as the Jewish narratives of this occurrence say nothing of any deportation of inhabitants from Judah, some have argued that the Assyrian inscription means only that they were compelled to give allegiance to Sennacherib; but such a construction of the language seems forced. The 200,150 people, as well as the animals taken, were clearly counted as "spoil" and carried away. A heavy fine was also levied, which Hezekiah stripped gold from the temple to pay. But Jerusalem was not entered; nor did Sennacherib advance into Egypt, as he had intended to do. His army was stricken by some pestilence, so sorely that he "departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh."

2 Kings, xviii-xix. *Isaiah*, xxxvi-xxxvii

Deportation of Jewish people

The Assyrians stricken. *2 Kings*, xix, 35

During much of the remainder of his reign, Sennacherib was engaged in struggles with the

Chaldeans and the Elamites for the mastery of Babylon. At length, in 689 B. C., he captured the venerable and famous great capital and destroyed it, leaving a heap of ruin, on which his son and successor, Esar-haddon, built a new Babylon some years after. Esar-haddon gained the throne in 681 B. C., after a war of four months with two of his brothers, who had murdered their father, Sennacherib. At some undefined time in his reign he drove back from his borders a terrifying horde of nomadic people from the northern shores of the Black Sea. These invaders, whom the Greeks called Cimmerians, may have been a division of that migratory procession of Aryan-tongued tribes which the Hindus, the Medes and the Persians are supposed to have led into southern Asia from somewhere in the north. Apparently the repulse from Assyria drove the Cimmerians westward into Asia Minor and eastward towards the Caspian, to join the Medes. Esar-haddon conducted, also, an energetic campaign in the Arabian deserts, against its wild tribes. His grand achievement, however, was the conquest of Egypt, to which he applied himself in a series of campaigns, extending from 673 to 668 B C., when he died.

Babylon destroyed and rebuilt

Esar-haddon. B. C. 681-668

The Cimmerians

Assyrian conquest of Egypt. B. C. 673-668

Egypt

From the reign of Ramses III., when our thread of Egyptian history was dropped, until this Assyrian conquest, little is known of Egyptian history that needs to be told. The successors of the third Ramses in the Twentieth Dynasty lost

(See page 69)

or wasted the imperial authority that he had recovered, and allowed their prerogatives to be taken from them gradually by the high priests of Ammon, at Thebes, until the latter supplanted them in title as well as in fact. A dynasty of priestly pharaohs (the Twenty-first) occupied the throne for a century or more, and was followed by one which the army, composed mostly of Libyan mercenaries, appears to have set up. One vigorous king in this Twenty-second Dynasty was Shishak, who invaded Palestine and plundered Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam; but the monarchy soon fell again into a feeble and broken state. The nominal sovereignty of the pharaohs at Thebes was scorned and defied by a score of princes who reigned independently in different parts of the land. From the strongest of these came a family, in the Nubian province, which assumed royal rank, as kings of Ethiopia, and which finally dominated all the lesser princes in the whole valley of the Nile. In 728 B. C., the then reigning king of Ethiopia, Shabakah, deposed the last pharaoh of two nominal dynasties (Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth) which had retained meantime a petty realm in the Delta, and took the title to himself, founding an Ethiopian dynasty, known as the Twenty-fifth. It was this dynasty that Esar-haddon, the Assyrian, overthrew, driving the third and last pharaoh of its line, Tirhakah, back to Ethiopia, and organizing a government of vassal princes in Egypt, with one Necho, of Sais, for their chief.

Twenty-first–Twenty-fifth dynasties

Expulsion of the Ethiopian pharaoh

ARCH OF TEMPLE OF RAMSES IV

From a French photograph of the "Porte Triomphe" of the Temple of Ramses IV at Karnak, Thebes

The Assyrian conquest, however, was never made secure. Esar-haddon and his son, Assur-bani-pal, who succeeded him in 668, strove against revolts and Ethiopian attacks, which Tirhakah led again and again, until 660 B. C., when Psammetichus, son of Necho, whom the Assyrian kings had made their viceregent, declared the independence of his sovereignty, restored order and authority, and established a native dynasty which ruled Egypt for ninety years. Psammetichus and his successors cultivated relations with the Greeks, with great advantage to themselves. The Greeks were then pushing themselves with surpassing energy into every field they could reach, as navigators and merchants in one capacity, and as mercenary soldiers and adventurers in another. Egypt now employed them in both. They were permitted to establish themselves in a colony at Naucratis, near the Canobic branch of the Nile, and that became an important seat of their trade. They built a fleet of ships for Necho II., the son of Psammetichus, who interested himself in navigation as no Egyptian had done before. He is reputed to have sent out an exploring expedition which sailed round the continent of Africa, more than two thousand years before Vasco da Gama's voyage. He attempted, furthermore, the construction of a Suez canal, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, but failed after wasting an immense number of lives in the work.

Recovery of independence by Psammetichus B. C. 660.

Greeks in Egypt. Gardner, *New chapters in Greek History*, ch. 7

Voyage round Africa

The attempted Suez canal

Decline and Fall of Assyria

When Psammetichus, in Egypt, declared his independence of Assyria, that power had entered the early stages of a rapid decline. Its long barbaric career of destructive war and rapine was drawing towards the end. Its kings had carved with their cruel swords a wider empire than they had strength to hold, against the deathless hatred which burned always through all its length and breadth. Assur-bani-pal (the Sardanapalus of the Greeks) was as fierce and merciless as any in their lists, and apparently as energetic and able in war; but he had civilized tastes, withal, and it may be that they seduced him at length into negligence of the sword, which Assyria must keep busy or die. In every direction he had to deal with revolt, fostered treacherously by his brother, who had been given the Babylonian throne. Everywhere but in Egypt he crushed it with an unsparing hand; he drove his brother to self-destruction; he devastated Elam; and yet all the power he wielded seems to have been crumbling in his hands when he died. But in his later years he did that which yielded the one gift of value from Assyria to the world. He collected in his palace at Nineveh an immense library of clay tablets, for which he searched the ancient libraries of Babylonia for poems, legends, records of history, religious writings, rituals and formulas of magic, grammars, dictionaries, syllabaries, etc., representing the literature, the knowledge, and the superstition of Sumer, Accad and later Baby-

Assur-bani-pal(Sardanapalus). B. C. 668-626

Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* 2 : 246-295

The library of Assur-bani-pal

lonia, as well as of Assyria, and caused copies to be made. By this collection he preserved a priceless store of information concerning the early culture of mankind; for the most precious treasure found buried in the ruins of Nineveh is that furnished by the remains of the library of Assur-bani-pal.

Last years of Assyrian empire

Assur-bani-pal died in 626 B. C., and the Assyrian empire survived him not more than twenty years. Of the course of events in those few last years very little has been learned. No inscriptions yet found tell the story of the empire to its end, and traditions repeated by Herodotus and other Greek writers of after times do not agree. The main facts which seem probable are these: Either before or soon after the death of Assur-bani-pal, the Chaldeans regained control of Babylon and made one Nabopolassar king. This had its natural connection with a general breaking up of the Assyrian dominion, which Assur-bani-pal saw beginning and which proceeded rapidly in the following reigns. Barely the names of two kings in that brief final period have been learned. The last of them, Sin-shar-ishkun, seems to have had strength and courage to invade the northern provinces of Babylonia, and while so engaged was attacked by the Medes. The latter had old scores of invasion, conquest and oppression to settle with Assyria, which they might have cleared sooner if they had not been struggling with a fresh swarm of migrant nomads from the north. These, the Scythians, whose desolating

invasion of Asia reached to even the borders of Egypt, had just been repelled by the Medes, and that warlike people was now free to strike vengefully at the sinking Assyrian power. According to some accounts the Medes and the Babylonians were allies in the attack; but Herodotus ascribes the fatal blow to the former alone. Of that death-blow, which suddenly and utterly ended Assyrian history, we have fables and guesses to help us imagine the awful scene, and we are not likely to have more. The last Assyrian army that ever fought was driven back within the walls of Nineveh, and there, at the end of some hopeless defense, the army, the city, the king and the people were blotted forever from the records of the world.

Medes and Babylonians against Assyria

The unrecorded and mysterious catastrophe (which occurred probably in 606 B. C.) seems appalling; but was it not, after all, the just end of a brutally barbaric career? It is difficult to see that the Assyrians had ever earned a tear from mankind for their tragical fate. They gave really nothing to the world, save, unwittingly, the use of their clay heaps of ruin for the burial and keeping of precious records and writings from the older nation of the south. What they represented in civilization was a varnish from Babylon, which coated a fierce savagery that it could not hide. Their chief work in the six centuries of their power was to slay, pillage and destroy. They ravaged western Asia from Arabia to Asia Minor and from Elam to the Caspian Sea. They destroyed

The end of a barbaric career

Damascus and Samaria and Memphis in Egypt and Babylon. Who can imagine what venerable literatures and arts and growths of ancient culture may have perished at their barbarous hands! It was fit that Nineveh should be cast down with violence by another barbaric race, and that it should be left in sudden emptiness and desolation, while rains and floods spread the slime of broken clay walls over all the vast heap of its ruin, and hid what it held, keeping the precious secret for disclosure to a future generation,—the sole bequest it had to make.

Destruction of Nineveh. B.C. 606 (?)

The Short-lived Median Empire

For half a century after the fall of Nineveh, the late Assyrian empire was divided mostly between Babylon and Media; both of which were then engulfed in the conquests of Cyrus the Great. The annals of Media in this interval are little known; but a mass of fiction relating to the two kings of the period, Cyaxares and Astyages, was gathered by the Greeks. Cyaxares, after the destruction of Assyria, appears to have subjugated the greater part if not the whole of Iran, and established relations of friendship with Lydia and Babylon. He made his capital, Ecbatana, one of the splendid cities of the east. He died in 593, and his son, Astyages, reigned until the monarchy fell.

Chaldean Babylonia

The Chaldean empire of Babylonia, which rose on the ruins of Assyria, was less the work of its

first king, Nabopolassar, than of Nebuchadnezzar, or Nebuchadrezzar, his son. Even in the lifetime of his father, Nebuchadnezzar appears to have been charged, to a great extent, with the operations of war. His first serious encounter was with Necho II., of Egypt, the son of Psammetichus, who attempted to seize a share of the Assyrian domain. Necho had overrun Palestine and Syria, in the year before Nineveh fell; but when he attempted, in a second campaign, to lay hands on the northern part of Mesopotamia, he was met by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, on the Euphrates, and defeated so crushingly that he fled back to Egypt, making no other stand. Nebuchadnezzar followed, accepting the submission of the princes who had lately bowed to Necho, and was about to pursue the latter into Egypt when news reached him of his father's death. He hastened back to Babylon to secure his crown, and Egypt, for the moment, was spared.

Nebuchadnezzar. B. C. 604-562

Rogers, *Babylonia and Assyria* 2 : 316-353

The long reign of Nebuchadnezzar, from 604 until 562 B. C., was filled much more with activities of building, to make Babylon the mightiest and most magnificent of cities and to improve the Babylonian system of canals, than with enterprises of war. There is little boasting of battle in his inscriptions, and nearly all that is known of his military exploits has come from foreign sources, chiefly from the Hebrew writings, in which he is represented to us from a hostile point of view. Apparently no other people suf-

Public works of Nebuchadnezzar

fered so much at his hands as the Jews. Jehoiakim, king of Judah, had submitted to Nebuchadnezzar when Necho's suzerainty was overthrown, and paid tribute for three years. Then he was persuaded by a reckless party in his kingdom to refuse the tribute, which was a declaration of revolt. This rash defiance was opposed by the prophet Jeremiah, as vigorously and vainly as Isaiah had opposed the similar folly of Hezekiah, a hundred years before. A heavier penalty was now to be paid; but Jehoiakim escaped it by a timely death, just before the arrival of a Babylonian army before Jerusalem, in 597 B. C. His young son, Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, surrendered the city with no attempt to resist. Then Nebuchadnezzar carried away into captivity not only the king and his family, but "all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valor, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land;" and the temple and the city were stripped of all the treasures that could be found. The captives were taken to Babylonia and established in a settlement by "the river Chebar," which recent explorations at Nippur have shown to have been the name of a canal near that city.

Jewish refusal of tribute

Warnings of Jeremiah

The Babylonian captivity. B. C. 597

2 Kings, xxiv-xxv

But this was not the end. Weakened though the nation was by the exiling of its strongest citizens, it was soon carried into rebellion again. Nebuchadnezzar had appointed a young king, Zedekiah, to rule over it in his name, and the ill-

iated youth was beguiled by the then king of Egypt, Hophra (Necho's successor), into a league with Tyre, Sidon, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, for revolt. Again Jeremiah remonstrated and warned with no effect, except to cause his own imprisonment as a suspected traitor and spy. Once more Jerusalem was beleaguered by a Babylonian army, and the Egyptians who came to its relief were driven back. This time the city was defended desperately for no less than a year and a half. When taken, at last, in the month of July, 586 B. C., it was pillaged and burned and the walls thrown down; Zedekiah was blinded, after seeing his sons slain before his eyes; another great multitude of the inhabitants—how many is not stated—was carried away to exile in Babylonia, and, again, the poorest and weakest were left behind. But this sad remnant of Judah found itself unprotected from lawless attacks, and sought refuge in Egypt; so that no vestige of the kingdom of David existed any more.

Jewish rebellion renewed

Destruction of Jerusalem. B. C. 586

End of the kingdom of David

From the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar went to Tyre, and began a siege of that sea-girt city which is said to have lasted thirteen years. In the end he had success only far enough to bring the Tyrians to a capitulation on favorable terms. At some time during the progress of the siege, about 567 B. C., he drew away part of his army and led it into Egypt, for the punishment of King Hophra's malicious intrigues. Apparently his campaign was no more than a raid, in which he satisfied his wrath, by pillage

Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre

and destruction, but made no attempt to establish authority in the land. It is not known that he was engaged in any further undertakings of war. His later years were devoted probably to the stupendous works by which he made Babylon, more than ever it had been before, the wonder of the ancient world, for the enormous circuit of its three impregnable walls; for the perfection of its canals, bridges and streets; for the magnificence of its temples and palaces; for the beauty of its gardens and public grounds. His Babylon and Babylonia were those which later writers described, and, knowing them only as they existed then, under the Chaldean régime, they gave the Chaldean name to all their long history, which is now known to have been contrary to fact. The Kaldi or Chaldeans, as we have seen, came into Babylonian history at a period comparatively late.

Later splendors of Babylon

Goodspeed, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, sects. 283, 299-304.

(See pages 115-122-3

Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded at his death (562 B. C.) by his son, Amil-Marduk, called Evil-merodach in the Bible, who reigned but two years and was then assassinated, to make room for an usurper of the throne. The usurper and his son reigned briefly, until 556 B. C., when the latter fell a victim to conspiracy and murder, and Nabonidus, a man of excellent qualities, but unfitted for government, was chosen to be king. Nabonidus was a pious temple-builder and an ardent archæologist, so deeply interested in finding the names and dates of early kings, who had been founders of the ancient temples which he

Last years of Babylonian empire

labored to restore, that he neglected his failing empire and its affairs. But the records of archæological discovery which he left behind him have been of inestimable helpfulness to the scholars of our day, who patiently piece together the recovered fragments of the oldest annals of mankind.

While Nabonidus was busying himself with architecture and archæology, the most remarkable of ancient conquerors, known as Cyrus the Great, had arisen in Elam, and was destined to be the master of Babylon before many years passed.

In the Lands of the Greeks

While the Assyrians were pursuing their violent career to its violent end, and the Medes and Persians, on the table-land of Iran, were growing in strength, the inhabitants of what came to be Greek lands, in and around the Ægean, were recovering from what seems to have been the check to their progress in civilization, produced by the southward movement of the Dorian tribes, and were preparing to open an extraordinary new era of culture in the history of mankind. They were about to be the first of the slow, the long silent, but the powerful races of Europe, to step out of prehistoric obscurity into the daylighted arenas of recorded history, and to guide them on new lines of advance. The precocious leadership of Semitic and Hamitic peoples in the civilization of the world was coming to its close.

(See pages 99-100)

Semitic and Hamitic civilizations giving way to the Aryan

Simultaneously in Asia and Europe, the tribes of Aryan speech,—Mede and Persian in the one continent and Greek in the other—were grasping the lordship of the age; not as allies, but as rivals, between whom a life-and-death conflict was waiting in the future to be fought out. But the Persian and the Mede entered history as the heirs of Assyria and the pupils of Babylon, to pursue in the main the old worn ways, in the old worn grooves of eastern action and thought; while the Greek brought into the world a wholly fresh intellectual force, aimed towards wholly different ends. A very new leaf in human history, written upon in this Hellenic corner of Europe, was preparing to be turned.

Birth of a new intellectual force

The peninsula which the Greeks or Hellenes then controlled is peculiarly formed. It is crossed in different directions by mountain ranges, which divide the land into parts naturally separated from one another, and which form barriers easily defended against invading foes. Between the mountains lie numerous fertile valleys; while the coast is ragged with gulfs and bays, which notch it deeply on all sides, making the whole main peninsula a cluster of minor peninsulas, and supplying the people with harbors which invite them to a life of seafaring and trade. It is surrounded, moreover, with islands, which repeat the invitation.

Physical features of the Greek peninsula

Almost necessarily, in a country marked with such features so strongly, the Greeks became divided politically into small independent states

Development of city-states

—city-states they have been named—and those on the seacoast became engaged very early in trade with other countries of the Mediterranean Sea. Every city of importance in Greece was entirely sovereign in the government of itself and of the surrounding territory which formed its domain. The stronger among them extended their dominion over some of the weaker or less valiant ones; but even then independence of the subject cities was not entirely taken away. There was no organization of national government to embrace the whole, nor any large part, of Greece. Certain among the states were sometimes united in temporary leagues, or confederacies, for common action in war; but these were unstable alliances, rather than political unions.

Early kingship

In their earliest form, the Greek city-states were governed by kings, about whose power there is much dispute. But kingship had disappeared from most of the states in Greece proper before they reached the period of distinct and accepted history. The kings were displaced first by aristocracies—ruling families, which took all political rights and privileges to themselves, and allowed their fellows (whom they usually oppressed) no part or voice in public affairs. In most instances these aristocracies, or oligarchies, were overthrown, after a time, by bold agitators who stirred up a revolution, and then contrived, while confusion prevailed, to gather power into their own hands. Almost every Greek city had its time of being ruled by one or more of these tyrants, as

Kings displaced by oligarchies, and those by tyrannies. Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 1 : 394-409

they were called. Some of them, like Pisistratus of Athens, ruled wisely and justly for the most part, and were not "tyrants" in the modern sense of the term; but all who gained and held a princely power unlawfully were so named by the Greeks.

The reign of the tyrants was generally brief. They were driven out of one city after another, until they disappeared. Then the old aristocracies came uppermost again in some cities, and ruled as before. But some, like Athens, had trained the whole body of their citizens to such intelligence and spirit that neither kingship nor oligarchy would be endured any longer, and the people undertook to govern themselves. These were the first democracies—the first experiments in popular government—that history gives any account of. "The little commonwealths of Greece," says a great historian, "were the first states at once free and civilized which the world ever saw. They were the first states which gave birth to great statesmen, orators, and generals who did great deeds, and to great historians who set down those great deeds in writing. It was in the Greek commonwealths, in short, that the political and intellectual life of the world began." But an exception to this democratic tendency appeared in the leading Dorian states.

Fall of the tyrants

The first democratic commonwealths in the world

Freeman, *General sketch of European History*, 22

The principal states founded or possessed and controlled by the Dorians in Peloponnesus, after their conquest, were Sparta, or Lacedæmon, Argos, and Corinth. The Spartans were the most warlike of the Greeks,—the most resolute and

Sparta and the Spartans

energetic,—and their leadership was accepted generally in practical affairs common to the whole. At the same time they had little of the intellectual superiority which distinguished some of their Hellenic kindred in so remarkable a degree. Their state was organized on military principles; its constitution (the body of famous ordinances ascribed to Lycurgus) was a code of rigid discipline, which dealt with the citizen as a soldier always under training for war, and demanded from him the utmost simplicity of life. Their form of government combined a peculiar monarchy (having two royal families and two kings) with an aristocratic senate (the gerousia), and a democratic assembly (which voted on matters only as submitted to it by the senate), with an irresponsible executive over the whole, consisting of five men called the Ephors. This singular government, essentially aristocratic or oligarchical, was maintained, with little disturbance or change, through the whole independent history of Sparta. In all respects, the Spartans were the most conservative and the least progressive among the politically important Greeks.

Lycurgus

The Spartan constitution

At the beginning of the domination of the Dorians in Peloponnesus, their city of Argos took the lead, and was the head of a league which included Corinth and other city-states. But Sparta soon rose to rivalry with Argos; then reduced it to a secondary place, and subjugated it completely in the end.

Argos

The extensive shifting of population which had

produced its most important result in the invasion of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, must have caused great commotions and changes throughout the whole Greek peninsula; and quite as much north of the Corinthian isthmus as in the south. But in the part which lies nearest to the isthmus —the branch peninsula of Attica—the old inhabitants appear to have held their ground, repelling invaders, and their country was affected only by an influx of fugitives, flying from the conquered Peloponnesus. The Attic people were more nearly akin to the expelled Achaians and Ionians than to the conquering Dorians, although a common brotherhood in the Hellenic race was recognized by all. Whatever distinction there may have been before between Achaians and Ionians now practically disappeared, and the Ionic name became common to the whole branch of the Greek people which derived itself from them. The important division of the race through all its subsequent history was between Dorians and Ionians. The Æolians constituted a third less important division.

Fusion of Achaians and Ionians

The Æolians

The distinction between Ionians and Dorians seems to have been very real, in character no less than in traditions and name. The Ionians were the superior Greeks on the intellectual side. It was among them that the wonderful genius resided which produced the greater marvels of Greek literature, philosophy and art. It was among them, too, that the institutions of political freedom were carried to their highest attainment.

Ionians and Dorians compared

Their chief city was Athens, and the splendor of its history bears testimony to their unexampled genius. On the other hand, the Dorians were less thoughtful, it appears, less imaginative, less broad in judgment or feeling—less susceptible, it would seem, of a high refinement of culture; but no less capable in practical pursuits, no less vigorous in effective action, and much sounder in their moral constitution. Sparta, which stood at the head of the Doric states, contributed almost nothing to Greek literature, Greek thought, Greek art, or Greek commerce, but exercised a great influence on Greek political history. Other Doric states, especially Corinth, were foremost in commercial and colonizing enterprise, and attained some brilliancy of artistic civilization, but not much originality appears in what they did.

Corinth

Greeks and Phœnicians

As stated heretofore, the Greeks were once supposed to have received far more teaching from the Phœnicians, in navigation and in commercial enterprise especially, than now seems to be the fact. Without doubt there was a time, after the fall of the Cretan sea-power and of the Mycenæan domination, during which the Phœnicians were active in Greek waters and influenced the new development of Greek life in some degree. But that period cannot have been long, and it seems to have had no great effect. The Greeks were soon rivaling the Phœnicians in trading and colonizing energy, not only within their own sea but far beyond. They occupied the coast of Asia Minor and the islands on both their own coasts. The

Ionian Greeks were the principal colonizers of the Asiatic shore and of the Cyclades. On the former and near it they founded twelve towns of note, including Samos, Miletus, Ephesus, Chios, and Phocæa, which are among the more famous cities of ancient times. Their important island settlements in the Cyclades were Naxos, Delos, Melos, and Paros. They possessed, likewise, the great island of Eubœa, with its two wealthy cities of Chalcis and Eretria. These, with Attica, constituted, in the main, the Ionic portion of Hellas.

Greek colonies.

Grote, *History of Greece*, 3 : ch. xxii-xxiii

The Dorians occupied the islands of Rhodes and Cos, and founded on the coast of Asia Minor the cities of Halicarnassus and Cnidus.

The important Æolian colonies in Asia were Smyrna (acquired later by the Ionians), Temnos, Larissa, and Cyme. Of the islands they occupied Lesbos and Tenedos.

From these settlements on neighboring coasts and islands the vigorous Greeks pushed on to more distant fields. It is probable that their colonies were in Cyprus and Crete before the eighth century, B. C. In the seventh century B. C., during the time of confusion and weakness in Egypt which attended and followed the Assyrian conquest by Esar-haddon they had entered that country as allies or as mercenaries of Necho and Psammetichus, and had founded, about 660 B. C., on the Canobic branch of the Nile, a city, Naucratis, which became an important agent in the exchange of arts and ideas, as well as of merchandise, between the Nile and the

(See page 121)

Greeks in Egypt. B. C. 7th century

Ægean. Within a few years past the site of Naucratis has been uncovered by explorers, and much has been brought to light that was obscure in Greek and Egyptian history before.

Within the same seventh century, Cyrene and Barca had been built on the African coast, farther west. Even a century before that time, the Corinthians had taken possession of Corcyra (modern Corfu), and they, with the men of Chalcis and Megara, had been actively founding cities that grew great and rich, in Sicily and in southern Italy, which latter acquired the name of "Magna Græcia" (Great Greece). At a not much later time they had pressed northwards to the Euxine or Black Sea, and had scattered settlements along the Thracian and Macedonian coast, including one (Byzantium) on the Bosphorus, which became, after a thousand years had passed, the imperial city of Constantinople. About 597 B. C., the Phocæans had planted a colony at Massilia, in southern Gaul, from which sprang the great city known in modern times as Marseilles. And much of all this had been done, by Ionians and Dorians together, before Athens (in which Attica now centered itself, and which loomed finally greater in glory than the whole Hellenic world besides) had made a known mark in history.

Magna Græcia

Byzantium

Massilia (Marseilles)

Moreover, in this time, before Athens had importance in history, the rare literary genius of the Greeks had borne already the fruits of its first rich season, not only in the great Homeric epics, but in lyric poetry that has never been surpassed.

Early Greek literature

Archilochus, Alcæus, Sappho, Anacreon, Pindar, are among the singers of the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ, whose songs are known to the modern world by just enough to show how strong in passion, how fine in imagination and thought and how perfect in art they were. The Homeric poems were yet earlier in time,—how much earlier is a question still under debate. The greater weight of present day opinion seems to be against the belief that the Iliad and the Odyssey were composed by one poet at one time. If they were formed out of various poems, collected finally and unified by epic-makers of a later day, then parts may be as ancient as the twelfth century, to which some critics would assign the whole work, and parts may be as recent as the eighth century, to which others would bring it down. Between those centuries the songs of the Hebrew psalmists were heard in Israel and Judah; while the solemn chants of the prophets were near in time to the light strains of the lyric poets of Greece. So the two great literatures of antiquity sprang from generations that were not far apart.

The Homeric poems

Gardner, *New chapters in Greek History*, ch. v.

The two great literatures of antiquity

At first there had been kings in Athens, and legends had gathered about their names which give modern historians a groundwork for critical guessing, and scarcely more. Then the king disappeared and a magistrate called archon took his place, who held office for only ten years. The archons are believed to have been chosen first from the old royal family alone; but after a time the office was thrown open to all noble families.

Beginnings of Athenian history

This was the aristocratic stage of political evolution in the city-state. The next step was taken in 683 B. C. (which is said to be the beginning of authentic Athenian chronology) when nine archons were created, in place of the one, and their term of office was reduced to a single year.

B. C. 683

Sixty years later, about 621 B. C., the people of Athens obtained their first code of written law, ascribed to one Draco, and described as a code of much severity. But it gave certainty to law, for the first time, and it was the first great protective measure secured by the people. In 612 B. C. a noble named Kylon attempted to overthrow the aristocratic government and establish a tyranny under himself, but he failed.

The Draconian code. B. C. 621

Then there came forward in public life another noble, who was one of the wisest men and purest patriots of any country or age, and who made an attempt of quite another kind. This was Solon, the famous lawgiver, who became archon in 594 B. C. The political state of Athens at that time has been described for us in an ancient Greek treatise lately discovered, and which is believed to be one of the hitherto lost writings of Aristotle. "Not only," says the author of this treatise, "was the constitution at this time oligarchical in every respect, but the poorer classes, men, women, and children, were in absolute slavery to the rich. . . . The whole country was in the hands of a few persons, and if the tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be haled into slavery, and their children with them. Their persons were

Solon

mortgaged to their creditors." Solon saw that this was a state of things not to be endured by such a people as the Athenians, and he exerted himself to change it. He obtained authority to frame a constitution and a new code of laws for the state. In the latter he provided measures for relieving the oppressed class of debtors. In the former, he did not create a democratic government, but he greatly increased the political powers of the people. He classified them according to their wealth, defining four classes, the citizens in each of which had certain political duties and privileges measured to them by the extent of their income and estate. But the whole body of citizens, in their general assembly (the ecclesia), were given the important right of choosing the annual archons, whom they must select, however, from the ranks of the wealthiest class. At the same time, Solon enlarged the powers of the old aristocratic senate—the areopagus—giving it a supervision of the execution of the laws and a censorship of the morals of the people.

The constitution of Solon

The ecclesia

"These changes did not constitute democracy, —a form of government then unknown, and for which there was as yet no word in the Greek language. But they initiated the democratic spirit. . . . Athens, thus fairly started on her way,—emancipated from the discipline of aristocratic school-masters, and growing into an age of manly liberty and self-restraint, — came eventually nearer to the ideal of 'the good life' [Aristotle's phrase] than any other state in Hellas."

The areopagus

Fowler, *The City-state*

In the Italian Peninsula

While the Greeks in this period were entering the open field of recorded history, their kinsmen in the next western peninsula, the Romans, were only, as yet, passing through the preparatory stage. They, too, were members of the great family which drew language from the Aryan source. The same movement, it is supposed, in the successive outswarmings of that family, deposited in one peninsula the Italian tribes, and in the next peninsula, eastward, the tribes of the Hellenes. Among the Italian tribes were Latins, Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, etc., occupying the middle and much of the southern parts of the peninsula, while a mysterious alien people, the Etruscans, possessed the country north of them, between the Arno and the Tiber. In the extreme south were remnants of a primitive race, identical, perhaps, with the Pelasgians of Greece, and Greek colonies were scattered there, around the coasts.

Union of Latins and Sabines in founding Rome

From the Latins sprang the Romans, at the beginning of their separate existence; but there seems to have been a very early union of these Romans of the primitive tradition with a Sabine community, whereby was formed the Roman city-state of historical times. That union came about through the settlement of the two communities, Latin and Sabine, on two neighboring hills, near the mouth of the river Tiber, on its southern bank. In the view of some historians, it is the geographical position of those hills, hardly less than the masterful temper and capacity of the

race seated on them, which determined the marvelous career of the city founded on that site. Says Professor Freeman: "The whole history of the world has been determined by the geological fact that, at a point a little below the junction of the Tiber and the Anio, the isolated hills stand nearer to one another than most of the other hills of Latium. On a site marked out above all other sites for dominion, the center of Italy, the center of Europe, as Europe then was, a site at the junction of three of the great nations of Italy, and which had the great river as its highway to lands beyond the bounds of Italy, stood two low hills, the hill which bore the name of Latin Saturn, and the hill at the meaning of whose name of Palatine scholars will perhaps guess forever. These two hills, occupied by men of two of the nations of Italy, stood so near to one another that a strait choice indeed was laid on those who dwelled on them. They must either join together on terms closer than those which commonly united Italian leagues, or they must live a life of border warfare more ceaseless, more bitter, than the ordinary warfare of Italian enemies. Legend, with all likelihood, tells us that warfare was tried; history, with all certainty, tells us that the final choice was union. The two hills were fenced with a single wall; the men who dwelled on them changed from wholly separate communities into tribes of a single city."

The site of Rome

Freeman, *Lectures to American Audiences*, 278

The followers of Romulus occupied the Palatine Mount, and the Sabines were settled on the

Quirinal. At subsequent times, the Cœlian, the Capitoline, the Aventine, the Esquiline and the Viminal hills were embraced in the circumvallation, and the city on the seven hills thus acquired that name.

The seven hills

If modern students and thinkers, throwing light on the puzzling legends and traditions of early Rome from many sources, in language and archæology, have construed their meaning rightly, then great importance attaches to those first unions or incorporations of distinct settlements in the forming of the original city-state. For it was the beginning of a process which went on until the whole of Latium, and then the whole of Italy, and, finally, the whole Mediterranean world, were joined to the seven hills of Rome. "The whole history of Rome is a history of incorporation;" and it is reasonable to believe that the primal spring of Roman greatness is found in that early adoption and persistent practice of the policy of political absorption, which gave conquest a character it had never borne before.

The Roman process of incorporation

At the same time, this view of the creation of the Roman state contributes to an understanding of its early constitutional history. It supposes that the union of the first three tribes which coalesced—those of the Palatine, the Quirinal and Capitoline (both occupied by the Sabines) and the Cœlian hills—ended the process of incorporation on equal terms. These formed the original Roman people—the "fathers," the "patres," whose descendants appear in later times as a dis-

Origin of the Roman patricians

tinct class or order, the "patricians"—holding and struggling to maintain exclusive political rights, and exclusive ownership of the public domain, the "ager publicus," which became a subject of bitter contention for four centuries. Around these heirs of the "fathers" of Rome arose another class of Romans, brought into the community by later incorporations, and not on equal terms. If the first class were "fathers," these were children, in a political sense, adopted into the Roman family, but without a voice in general affairs, or a share in the public lands, or eligibility to the higher offices of the state. These were the *plebs* (plebeians) of Rome, whose long struggle with the patricians for political and agrarian rights is the more interesting side of Roman history, throughout nearly the whole of the prosperous age of the republic.

Origin of the plebs

The Phœnicians

The interval of independence which the cities of Phœnicia had enjoyed for a few hundred years, after the crumbling, in the eleventh century B.C., of the power of Egypt, was ended, as we have seen, by the Assyrian conquests of the eighth century, and they were never again politically free. But their commerce was unfettered, and, apparently, they cared little for any freedom beyond that. For a time in this period the trade of the Mediterranean appears to have been wholly in their hands. This was while the Greeks were inactive, even in their own seas, and before

B. C. 11th-6th centuries

Carthage, founded in the ninth century B. C. by exiles from Tyre, had attained much power. Of the career of the Carthaginians prior to the fifth century nothing really is known; nor is there any knowledge in detail of the lines and methods of Phœnician trade. It is only clear, as a general fact, that they handled a wide exchange of commodities between the three continents that touch the Mediterranean Sea. That their ships, or those of the Carthaginians, made voyages to Britain, and brought thence the tin of Cornwall, or sailed beyond Britain to the Baltic for amber, is no longer much believed. Undoubtedly the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians conducted an important trade in British tin, but it reached them, more probably, by overland routes, through Gaul (modern France), which were opened by native traders of that country at a very early day. Similarly the amber of the Baltic was brought to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean by merchants who traversed the rivers and roadways of the land, not the paths of the sea.

Phœnician commerce

The bold Phœnicians and Carthaginians did, however, sail their ships out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic, and they founded settlements on the ocean coasts, both in Africa and Spain. The modern city of Cadiz can trace its parentage to a Phœnician or Carthaginian colony of such antiquity that (says Mr. Freeman, the historian) it "has kept its name and its unbroken position as a great city from an earlier time than any other city in Europe." Southern Spain was covered

Antiquity of Cadiz

with Phœnician and Carthaginian settlements, and they monopolized its mines, which were a great source of wealth. The dominion of Carthage in north Africa was extended, at some quite early day, from what is now named the Gulf of Sidra (the Great Syrtis of the ancients) to the ocean on the west. In that Libyan territory it claimed ultimately three hundred tributary cities, some of which, such as Utica, its close neighbor, were Phœnician settlements older than itself.

Carthaginian dominion

The Phœnicians were extensive manufacturers, as well as merchants and carriers, and much of what they bartered with other peoples was the product of their own arts. They were reputed to be the discoverers of glass-making; their bronze and copper work was famous; they had no rivals in the use of dyes, especially Tyrian purple, which a shell-fish supplied. For a long period they monopolized the copper of Cyprus—the metal which gave that island its name. But the business which the Phœnicians pursued with most activity and profit, if Greek writers are believed, was the buying, capturing, stealing and selling of slaves. Wherever men, women and children could be bought or caught, the Phœnicians are represented to have been alert for the opportunity; and markets for the human commodity were always to be found.

Phœnician manufactures

Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, ch. 10

India

Our narrative has not yet reached a time from which any definite record of any people (except

the Chinese) dwelling outside of the range of the records of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Judea, or Greece, has come to light.

India still tells nothing of her past, except by inference from a sacred literature that was put into writing at a later time; but some inferences are drawn from that source which have almost the substance of fact. One such reveals a great change from the religious ideas and from the social organization represented in the Rig-veda, and shows it to have become complete within the period of our present survey. This change had produced from the early simpler Vedic worship an elaborated religion known as Brahmanism, and produced, at the same time, the paralyzing social institution of caste. The religious system of Brahmanism was polytheistic, but it introduced the trinitarian conception of one supreme deity existing in three persons, or manifestations, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva,—the first creative in his functions, the second protective or preservative, the third destructive and reproductive. An elaboration of priestly service in the Brahmanic worship led to claims of superiority in the priesthood, going beyond any found elsewhere in the world. The priests, called "brahmans" (which is said to have signified originally no more than "singers of sacred songs"), came to be regarded not only as a class apart, but as men of a different mould from their fellows—a caste. Caste has been defined as "rank with impassable boundaries, admitting no one not born within them."

Evolution of Brahmanism

Origin of caste

It exists rigidly in India alone, and it was created there undoubtedly by the Brahmanic priests. To establish the distinction of caste for themselves they must have given religious encouragement to the caste-idea of rank, which divided Indian society at last into what seem to be regarded as four species of human beings, namely: (1) Brahmans, or the learned; (2) Kshattryas, or princes and warriors; (3) Vaisyas, or the common people of the ruling race; (4) Sudras, or the subjugated aboriginals of the country, practically enslaved. The caste-organization of society and life in India goes back to a very early day, and probably it was formed, or taking form, along with the Brahmanic religion, in the period now under survey. Inferentially from the sacred books of the Hindus, some glimpses of the process of these social and religious developments are obtained; otherwise Indian history preceding the sixth century before Christ, when Buddhism arose, is almost a blank.

The four castes

China

The native historians of China represent its condition in this period to have been one of great general disorder in every part of the land. The authority exercised by the early sovereigns of the Chow dynasty had been lost; the people were oppressed by their princes of all ranks; fraud, violence and licentiousness were increasing everywhere, and society was vitiated throughout.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE ADVENT OF CYRUS TO THE AGE OF XERXES

(B. C. 558 TO 480)

The Period: Its two notable marks.—Trial of racial strength and character between Asiatic and European branches of the Aryan-tongued peoples.—Religious movements in the Asiatic world. *Ancient Persia:* The nationality of Cyrus the Great, a problem.—Primitive Persia and the Persians.—Xenophon's account of Persian education of the young.—The Avesta.—Zoroaster. *Early Religious Reformations in the East:* Zoroaster's reform of the primitive religion of the Aryas.—Gotama, the Buddha, and Buddhism.—Teachings of Lao-tsze and Confucius. *The Persian Empire:* Overthrow of the Median empire by Cyrus.—His conquest of Lydia.—Crœsus, his wealth and his downfall.—Subjugation of Asia Minor.—Submission of Babylon.—Restoration of captive Jews to Jerusalem by Cyrus.—The empire left by Cyrus.—Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.—Reorganization of the empire by Darius.—His invasion of Europe.—His pursuit of the Scythians beyond the Danube.—Submission of Thrace and Macedonia to the Persian.—Peril of the Greek states. *The Greeks:* Brief experience of tyranny at Athens.—Pisistratus and his sons.—The democratic constitution of Cleisthenes. *Persian Invasions of Greece:* Athens sends help against Persia to Ionian cities in Asia Minor.—Wrath of King Darius.—His great expedition sent into Greece.—Its defeat at Marathon.—Second Persian invasion by Xerxes.—Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylæ.—Athens in ruins.—Destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis.—Disastrous end of the Persian invasion. *The Romans:* The Romans under their kings.—Aristocratic constitution of the early Roman Republic.—Formation of the democratic commonwealth.

The period now approached bears two notable marks, each of which may have more significance than we have knowledge to understand. One is made by the decisive trial of racial strength and character, between Asiatic and European branches of the Aryan-tongued peoples, which took place in the wars of the Persians with the Greeks, and which closed, practically, the brief career of the former as a dominating and civilizing power. The other mark on the period is from three wonderful movements of religious reform that occurred in the Asiatic world at nearly the same time, and the effects of which are experi-

Notable marks on the period

enced profoundly by a vast majority of the human race to this day.

The Ancient Persians and their country

In the early years of the career of Cyrus the Great he styled himself and his ancestors kings of Anzan, or Anshan, which is found to have been the native name of Elam; later he assumed the title of king of Persia. These are facts brought to light by the discovery of his own inscriptions, in Babylonia, a few years ago, and they require many notions of Cyrus, received from Greek writers of Persian history, to be revised. Was he or was he not of Persian birth or blood, as had seemed formerly to be a matter of course? If not, why did he so identify himself with that small nation, among the many of greater power and importance that came under his rule? Why and how did Persia become the very center and seat of the great sovereignty he created? These are problems that remain for the archæologists of the future to solve.

Cyrus the Great

Was he a Persian?

The country of the ancient Persians, on the gulf which bears their name, embracing what is now the province of Farsistan, lay close to Elam, southeastwardly, beyond the mountains of the Zagros range. Its tribes are supposed to have become united in a national monarchy not much before the time of the Median overthrow of Assyria, in which they probably took part, along with other Iranian kinspeople of the Medes. Their original territory was not large and their

Primitive Persia

number not great; but they were evidently a strong race, in mind and body,—well-trained in both. The Greeks believed them to have been, before power and wealth corrupted them, a nation resembling their own Spartans, in integrity of character and simplicity and discipline of life. Xenophon, who was in their country for a long time, in the age of their national decay, and who was well acquainted with their own beliefs concerning that primitive time, gives a fascinating account of their system of education for the young. It may never have been realized, but it indicates high qualities, even as an ideal, if no more. Of the Persian public schools, which he describes, Xenophon says: "The boys attending the public schools pass their time in learning justice; and say that they go for this purpose, as those with us say who go to learn to read." "They also," adds Xenophon, "teach the boys self-control; and it contributes much towards their learning to control themselves, that they see every day their elders behaving themselves with discretion. They teach them also to obey their officers; and it contributes much to this end, that they see their elders constantly obedient to their officers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much to this end, that they see that their elders do not quit their stations to satisfy their appetites until their officers dismiss them." But all this was of the past; a sad degeneration was found by Xenophon in his own day.

Primitive Persian character

Persian education of the young

Xenophon, *The Cyropædia*, bk. I, ch. ii

Until now, Medes and Persians, dwellers in Iran, speaking languages of the Aryan structure, had been touched by the light of history only because they came sometimes within the range of the records of Assyria and Babylonia. Behind and beyond those, their past has not yet been found open to the least exploration, otherwise than by guess and inference from their sacred writings, which come to us from a later day. The writings in question, gathered in the books of the Avesta, or Zendavesta, have been mentioned as the product of a reform of the primitive religion of the Aryas, brought about by Zarathushtra (called Zoroaster), probably in the sixth century before Christ. Among the Parsis of India the Zoroastrian religion, sometimes named Mazdeism, survives to the present time.

The Avesta

Religious reformations of the Sixth Century before Christ

As reformed by Zoroaster, the religion of the Iranians became, in a certain sense, a monotheistic religion, since it placed one supreme Lord, Ahura-mazda, creator of man and giver of all good to him, above other beings whom it recognized as divine. It retained in association with Ahura-mazda six other immortal spirits; but they were his ministers, he was their Lord. Its conception of all these divinities was as spiritual as the Hebrew conception of Jehovah; it represented them in no idolatrous form. But omnipotence was not included among the attributes of

The religion of Zoroaster

the Zoroastrian Lord. He was only the Great Spirit of Good in the universe, contending with and struggling against an almost or quite equal Spirit of Evil, Anro-mainyus, who strove unceasingly to thwart his benevolent designs for mankind. The likeness of Anro-mainyus to the Satan or Devil of Christian theology is too obvious to escape remark, and the fact that Anro-mainyus was supposed to be served and assisted in his warfare with Ahura-mazda by malignant under-spirits called "dævas" is suggestive of further thought.

Jackson, *Zoroaster*

The religious reformation wrought in the Iranian region by Zoroaster appears to have been nearly simultaneous with two other more remarkable introductions of new religious feeling and new thought in the Asiatic world. It is a striking fact, and one suggestive of more meaning than we have knowledge to give to it, that Gotama the Buddha, Confucius and Lao-tsze arose within the same century, if the conclusions of the best scholarship of the present day are correct. That Iran, India, and China, were all, in that same sixth century before Christ, prepared for the acceptance of the moral and spiritual revelations which these great teachers brought to them, seems to signify something in the general circumstances and conditions of that age in the orient which we do not know.

Nearly contemporary teachers

Gotama, called the Buddha, meaning "the enlightened," was probably born at some time in the first half of the sixth century before Christ.

His birthplace was near the city of Kapila-vastu, the ruins of which, in Nepal Terai, bordering on the modern province of Oudh, in India, were discovered a few years ago, and identified by an inscribed pillar, erected by a reverent emperor, Asoka, in the third century B. C. The father of Gotama was the rajah of a small state, and the future founder of the new religion lived the life of a prince until his thirtieth year. Then, though married, and the father of an infant son, he left his home, to become, says Professor Rhys Davids, "a homeless wanderer, and to spend his life, first in thinking out for himself the deepest problems of experience, and then in spreading abroad to others the good tidings of the salvation which he deemed himself to have discovered." He was oppressed with a sense of the miseries and sufferings that seemed to be inherent in human life; a sense made more oppressive by the Brahmanic belief in successive re-births after death, continuing the same life in new states. The salvation he sought and believed that he found was escape from that revolving "wheel of life." His revelation was the discovery, as he taught, that righteousness in life,—"right views," "right aspirations," "right speech," "right conduct," "right livelihood," "right effort," "right mindfulness," and "right meditation" ("the noble eightfold path"),—was the means of that escape; that the escape was its reward. "The good Buddhist," says Professor Rhys Davids, "cannot seek for any salvation which he is himself to enjoy in any

Gotama, the Buddha

His life

His search for salvation

His discovery and revelation

Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, 97, 136

future world. The result of his good actions, the fruit of his Karma, as the Buddhists would call it, will survive when he is dead, and advance the happiness of some other beings, who will have no conscious identity with himself. But, so far as he can reach salvation, he must enjoy it in this present life. The Buddhist books are constantly insisting upon the foolishness of wasting time (when there is so much to do, both for one's self and for others) in any hankering after a supposed happiness of heaven. And salvation here is precisely the being delivered from delusions with regard to individuality, in which the ordinary unconverted man is still entangled. When the mind has become clear from these delusions, a new and wider, brighter world reveals itself to him who has 'entered upon the Path.' And the Buddhist books are full of descriptions of the means which must be adopted, first to get rid of the delusions, and secondly to gain the full heights of the peaceful city of Nirvana, in which he who is free from these delusions lives and moves and has his being." The state so attained is "Arahatship," the Buddhist ideal of life.

Nirvana and Arahatship

Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, 131.

Oldenburg, *Ancient India*

The Buddha sent forth his disciples to preach his message of salvation to all mankind, and during the next few centuries Buddhism was spread, not only through India and Ceylon, but so widely in eastern Asia that it became, as it is to-day, the religion of more than half of all the people in the world. It was spread, too, by persuasion entirely, never by the sword, and no instance of the perse-

cution of another faith is laid to its charge. It did not drive Brahmanism out of India, but the two religions existed together for more than a thousand years.

In China, as in Iran and India, the matters of chief importance that appear in what is known of this period are in the religious and moral sphere. Two contemporary teachers, Lao-tsze and Confucius (or K'ung-foo-tsze, meaning the master K'ung), who arose in the sixth century B. C., impressed an influence on the Chinese mind which has strangely affected the whole national character and life. In the case of Lao-tsze, who was the elder of the two by half a century, the influence issued long after his death in an extraordinary perversion, it is said, of what he taught. He was a mystical philosopher and moralist, whose writings, so far as western students of the present day are able to understand them, appear to have contained some very good thoughts, obscurely expressed. But in later times they were so construed as to become the basis of authority for a most repulsive system of religious belief, known as Taoism, in which demons, malignant spirits and purgatorial tortures for the dead afford abundant occupation for Taoist priests or monks, who supply charms and perform magical and propitiatory rites.

Lao-tsze

Taoism

In the early religious faith of the Chinese there is no appearance of a priesthood, and the only public worship was in official ceremonies performed at certain seasons by the emperor, as the

head of the state. Apparently the primitive belief was strictly monotheistic; but there grew up in it a recognition of celestial and terrestrial spirits, which made way for the corruption of Taoism to creep in. In addition to this there was developed, out of the sentiment of filial piety, a system of ancestor-worship, which has prevailed from very ancient times.

Prayers and offerings to ancestral spirits were tolerated, at least, by Confucius, whose whole religious attitude was one of tolerance, attempting no doctrinal or ceremonial reforms. His mission was in the moral domain, having reference to prudent and right conduct in the present life. Of all the teachers who have greatly influenced mankind he was the most conservative, and no other has ever stamped his own personal traits on a race as Confucius stamped his conservatism on the character of the Chinese. Professor Douglas calls the doctrines of Confucius atheistic, saying: "He never in any way denied the existence of Shang-te [the principal deity of the early Chinese], but he ignored him. His concern was with man as a member of society, and the object of his teaching was to lead him into those paths of rectitude which might best contribute to his own happiness, and the well-being of that community of which he formed a part. Man, he held, was born good, and was endowed with qualities which, when cultivated and improved by watchfulness and self-restraint, might enable him to acquire godlike wisdom and become 'the equal of heaven.'"

Confucius a moral teacher

Douglas, *China*, 306

Conquests of Cyrus

Cyrus the Great began his career of conquest by overthrowing the Median empire, about 558 B. C. Some ten or eleven years then appear to have passed, during which he was busy, no doubt, in the consolidating of his power in Iran, before his further conquests were begun. According to Greek accounts, he was started on that course of wide conquest by a rash attack, made by Crœsus, an ambitious Lydian king.

Maspero, *The passing of the Empires*, ch. vi

The kingdom of Lydia (called Mæonia in the Homeric poems), in western Asia Minor, though one of the early centers of a rising civilization in that part of the world, had attained no great importance until the seventh century B. C. According to its traditions, two long-lasting dynasties of kings had reigned previously to that time, one known to the Greeks as the Attyadæ, the other as the Heracleidæ, both claiming descent from the gods. But the power of the monarchy had been too slight to prevent Greek colonists from taking possession of its whole coast, cutting it off from the sea and controlling the mouth of the river Hermus, on which Sardis, its capital, was built. About 689 B. C., however, the Lydian throne was acquired by a third family, the Mermnadæ, which raised it within the following century to great power. Of the manner in which Gyges, the founder of this dynasty, secured the throne, varying romantic legends were handed down, showing only that a palace revolution of some nature delivered the reins of

The kingdom of Lydia

Gyges, B.C. 689 (?)

government to a strong man. Though Gyges had to contend with the devastating invasion of the Cimmerians, who overran Phrygia, he began undertakings of conquest, especially against the cities of the intruding Greeks on the Lydian coast. His ambitious projects were pursued by his successors, until Crœsus, the last of the line, became master of the whole of Asia Minor, to the Halys,—the Kizil Armak of the modern map. That stream was the boundary between Lydian and Median dominions, determined by treaty in 610, after a hard fought war which checked the westward advance of the Medes. A friendly alliance between the two monarchies was the outcome of this war.

(See page 119)

Crœsus, B. C. 563-549 (?)

Crœsus, who came to the Lydian throne in 563 B. C., was reputed among the Greeks to be the richest prince of his day,—so much so that they made his name a synonym of wealth, and its use in that sense has been passed on to the present day. Crœsus completed the subjugation of the Greek cities on the coast, partly by force of arms, partly by flattering or corrupting gifts. He cultivated the favor of the oracles in Greece, and won the admiration of the Greek people by many tactful arts. His reign was one of remarkable prosperity and good fortune until he rashly challenged Cyrus, the new master of the dominion of the Medes, to a trial of war. His downfall, which ensued, gave so striking an illustration of the uncertainties of fortune that it has pointed the moral for all times since.

His wealth and prosperity

Crœsus and his kingdom went down before the onset of Cyrus in 549 or 547 B. C. The whole of Asia Minor, including the Greek cities on the coast, and the islands of Chios and Lesbos, were soon afterward made submissive to the same new lord. It was ten years later that Babylonia, the last of the three greater powers in western Asia, was overcome, after how much of struggle is not clear. Such resistance as Cyrus encountered in Babylonia was led, not by Nabonidus, but by Belshazzar, his son. The conqueror entered Babylon in 538 B. C.

Conquest of Lydia, all Asia Minor and Babylonia by Cyrus. B. C. 549(?)-538

The Jewish Restoration by Cyrus

The act which gave Cyrus his widest ultimate fame was the liberation of the captive Jews in Babylonia, permitting them to return to Jerusalem, to rebuild their temple, and to resume their national life. This he did in the year of his entry into Babylon, B. C. 538. So long as the new master of Babylon was supposed to be a strict Zoroastrian in his religious belief, he was thought to have been prompted to this act of grace by sympathy with the Hebrews in their monotheistic faith. But Cyrus is now known, from his own inscriptions, to have been as reverent towards the Bel-Marduk of Babylon as towards the Jehovah of Jerusalem, and he was doubtless a willing worshiper of all the many gods whom his various subjects revered. It is more than probable that the motive of his liberation of the Jewish exiles was purely one of statesmanship, and that he

Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, bk. 6, ch. xiii

The motive of Cyrus

dealt with other exiled peoples in the same way. Every community thus restored would see its own greatest interest in fidelity to the liberating king. That Cyrus was a statesman as well as a conquering warrior is shown by the substantiality of the great empire that he gathered under his strong hand. He must have dealt wisely with the many diverse peoples that he ruled; for he seems to have been less troubled with revolt than previous makers of empire had been. The memory that he left behind him among his subjects, if Xenophon speaks truly of it, can leave no doubt on this point.

His statesmanship

(See page 27)

Not all the Jewish exiles in Babylon accepted the freedom given them by Cyrus to return to their own land. Many who were prosperous in their alien home preferred to remain, founding a community of "Babylonian Jews" which became large and important in after times. Of those who returned to Jerusalem and Judah, "the whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore, besides their servants and maids, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven." They were given the gold and silver vessels of the temple, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away and put into the house of his own gods; and "all they that were about them strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things." And so, after forty-nine years of captivity, they came back to Jerusalem, under the lead of Zerub-

The Babylonian Jews

Ezra, ii, 64-65, and i, 6.

babel, a scion of their royal house, and of Jeshua, their high priest, and began the rebuilding of the temple and of homes for themselves.

The returned exiles found themselves surrounded by a population which they hated and scorned. Jews who had not shared the exile, and strange intruders from surrounding countries, with whom these Jews had mixed and married, were equally obnoxious to the faithful ones, who believed that the rebuilding of their nation was committed to them alone. They held themselves sternly aloof from their neighbors; would have no friendship with Samaria; rejected offers of union and help in the restoration of the temple, saying to them who came with such overtures: "Ye have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God." Enmity between them and all their neighbors was the natural consequence. The latter "troubled them in building," with such effect that the work on the temple was not finished until twenty-two years had gone by.

Jerusalem and Samaria

Ezra, iv, 3-4

For almost a century the results of the restoration which Cyrus had permitted were hanging in great doubt. The small colony at Jerusalem suffered much, gained little prosperity, was losing hope, and religious infidelities were creeping in. Then, in 458 B. C., an important reinforcement to it came from the stronger Jewish community at Babylon. A second movement of return was brought about by "Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law," who led it, and who brought with him a decree from Artaxerxes, the king, giving him

The second movement of return B. C. 458.

authority to "set magistrates and judges" and to enforce, said the decree, "the law of thy God, and the law of the king." Thirteen years later, Nehemiah, who had been the cupbearer and a favorite of Artaxerxes, was sent as Persian governor to Judea, and joined Ezra in measures which revived the religious spirit of the community, improved its circumstances and invigorated its life. Judaism, as a racial religious organization, with the center of its hierarchy at Jerusalem, was now rising into the place of the Jewish nation.

Ezra, vii. Ezra and Nehemiah

Wellhausen *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah*, ch. x

The Persian Empire

The empire left by Cyrus to his son Cambyses, in 529 B. C., when he died, extended from the Ægean and the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Persian Gulf and the borders of Egypt to the river Jaxartes and the Caspian and Black seas. The conquest of Egypt had been included in his plans, but was not accomplished when he died. Cambyses, after dealing with some outbreaks of revolt that occurred on his accession, made extensive preparations for an invasion of the land of the Nile. They were not concluded until the fifth year of his reign, when the movement began. For coöperation with his army he was supplied with a formidable fleet by the Phœnicians, by the Greek cities of his father's conquest in Asia Minor and the Ægean, and by the Cyprians, whose allegiance to the new lords of the east was now volunteered. The attack was

irresistible, and Egypt succumbed. The native king, Amasis (an usurper, who had taken the crown from Hophra in 570 B. C.), was dethroned, and the oldest monarchy on the earth was ruled again by kings and courts of foreign race. An attempt by Cambyses to subjugate the Ethiopians in the south is said by Herodotus to have failed; but the statement is considered open to doubt. So, too, is a Greek story of the loss of 50,000 of his army in a reckless expedition to the oasis of Ammon, in the Libyan desert.

Conquest of Egypt. B. C. 524

Much of what later Greek writers have told of mad and wicked conduct on the part of Cambyses in Egypt is discredited by the historical criticism of modern times. It can hardly be doubted, however, that he was a youth of ungovernable passion, of little wisdom and no moral restraint. Suspicious of his brother Bardes or Bardya (called Smerdes by the Greeks), he caused him to be murdered secretly, and the secrecy of the crime was fatal to himself. For the murdered Bardes was personated successfully by one Gaumata, who resembled him closely, and a rebellion, started and led as though by him, in Persia and Media, had instant success. Cambyses, still lingering in Egypt, set out in great haste to confront the impostor, but received some accidental hurt on the way, which caused his death. The false Bardes was crowned at Pasargadæ, the ancient Persian capital, in the summer of 522 B. C., and reigned seven months, exercising, apparently, full sway. Then he was surprised

Cambyses

An impostor on the Persian throne, B. C. 522

Darius chosen king B. C. 522

in his Median citadel by a small band of Persian nobles, who had detected his imposture, and was slain. Darius, son of Hystaspes, the satrap of Persia, and a prince of the royal house, who had led the attack, was chosen to be king.

Naturally, under the circumstances of the accession of Darius to the throne, there were rebellions in many parts of the wide empire, which occupied him continuously for four years, and were not ended even then. Darius, in fact, was called upon almost to repeat the conquests of Cyrus, and to organize the Persian empire anew. He performed the task with hardly less than the energy and ability that Cyrus had shown, and, when the dominions of his predecessor had been reduced to submission, he began to extend them by new conquests, in every inviting direction, towards the east, the west and the north. His armies passed beyond the Indus, and a Persian satrapy was formed on both banks of that stream. They pushed the bounds of his authority to the Caucasus, between the Caspian and Black seas, and beyond Egypt, in north Africa, over Cyrene and Barca, the Greek colonies, and over the Libyans, half way to the Carthaginian domain.

The reorganized and expanded empire of Darius

But these were mere extensions of conquest on old lines. In another direction, beyond the Bosporus, lay a field which was new to the arms of the east. No pharaoh of Egypt, nor any king of Babylon, or Nineveh, or Ecbatana, had driven his chariots of war on European soil, and Darius now burned with an ambition to subjugate that

His larger plans

land. Two, especially, of its people had provoked his desire to check the freedom they enjoyed. The Scythians, of the wilds at the north of the Black Sea, had left a sore memory of their invading hordes in the Asiatic mind; while the Greeks, of the Hellenic peninsula, who pushed themselves everywhere, in every sort of enterprise and adventure, spreading all sorts of disturbing ideas abroad, were a perpetual challenge to one who wished to be master of the whole world within his ken. Darius formed plans that were aimed at the subjection of both.

(See page 124)

The Greeks and Persians had had some vague knowledge of the people called Scythians for more than a century. They applied the name to barbarous nomads of a wide range, in eastern Europe and central Asia, who may or may not have been kindred in race. Probably the Scythic nomads are represented by some of the tribes called Turkoman and Tatar in modern times. Homer knew nothing of them by name, but they are mentioned by Hesiod. Western Asia, in late years of the seventh century before Christ, had the awful experience of an invasion by their hordes, who desolated Media, Armenia, and Assyria, and swept even to Syria and Palestine. The expedition of Darius was to avenge that attack. Half a century later, Herodotus wrote an account of the Scythians, which defined their country as lying between the Danube and the Don. Subsequently, the Scythian name was applied by ancient writers only to the central

The Scythians

Herodotus, *History* (trans. by Rawlinson) 3 : bk. 4

Asian nomads, while those of eastern Europe were called Sarmatians; and there seems to be no means of explaining the change of name. Nor is it known whether the people we now call Slavic, or Slavonic,—Russians, Poles, Servians, and others,—who occupy nearly the whole of eastern Europe, and who speak languages that form one division of the Aryan family of speech, are descended from any part of the people whom the ancients called Sarmatians, or are later comers in the land.

Sarmatians

Being already in control of the Asiatic shores of the Hellespont, the Propontis and the Bosporus, the first measure of Darius was to win footings on the European side, which he did at Byzantium (the Constantinople of later times), and, also, by conquest of the Thracian Chersonesus,—the peninsula which borders the Hellespont on the west. Then with an army said (with probable exaggeration) to number 600,000 men, and a fleet of 600 vessels from the Greek cities of Asia and the islands that were subject to his command, he crossed to Byzantium, in 513 B. C., over a floating bridge built for him by a Greek engineer. Seeking the Scythians first, he marched northward, sending his fleet to enter the Danube and meet the army there. The Thracians, through whose country he passed, submitted as he advanced; the Danube, when he reached it, was bridged by his obedient Greek engineers, and Darius moved on, pursuing the Scythians, who retreated before his great host. How far into their country he

Invasion of Europe by Darius. B. C. 513

His unsuccessful pursuit of the Scythians

ventured cannot be learned from the Greek accounts, which are manifestly incorrect. It is enough to know that the expedition failed. The Scythians avoided battle, and there was little in their country to waste and destroy. The long march of the Persians was bootless, and Darius retreated with difficulty to the Danube, losing heavily of his army, it is believed, and dreading that his bridge might be destroyed by the Greeks whom he had left for its guard.

Retreat of Darius

The guard had been more faithful than patriotic, and the Danube bridge was safe; but that on the Bosporus had been destroyed by revolting Greeks, and Darius marched with haste to the Hellespont, securing the lower strait. With part of his army he then recrossed to Asia, and, personally, he had no more to do with European campaigns. To the administrative organization of his empire, which he revised with much ability, the construction of excellent highways throughout its length and breadth, and the adornment of a new capital at Susa, in Elam, and a new royal seat at Persepolis, he gave most of his own care, while others conducted his wars. Two of his generals had been left in Thrace, to make a complete conquest of that country, preparatory to further proceedings in due time.

Persian forces in Thrace

The Defense of Greece Against the Persians

When all the Thracian tribes had been reduced to submission, and when Byzantium and other revolting cities on the coast had been recovered

by the Persian commanders, one of the latter, Megabyzus by name, passed from Thrace into Macedonia (of which country previous to that time little is known), and compelled its sovereign to acknowledge the supremacy of the Persian king. The dominions of Darius were pushed thus to the very borders of the Greek states, on European ground, as well as in and on the Ægean Sea. The menace of the approach of the all-powerful Persian would seem to have been grave enough to end every jealous quarrel among the Greek communities, and unite them in common measures of defense against the common foe. Instead of that being the case, the two principal states, Sparta and Athens, were so bitterly in conflict with each other at this time that the latter appealed for help to the Persian satrap of Lydia. Happily the appeal was answered by a demand that the Athenians should bow their necks to the Persian yoke, by ignominious gifts of earth and water—the symbols of subjugation. This roused the truer spirit of Athens, and its issue with Sparta was fought out in a manful way.

Herodotus, *History* (trans. by Rawlinson) 3-4.

Cox, *The Greeks and the Persians*

Conflict between Sparta and Athens

At this time, the Athenians had made their government completely democratic, after passing through an experience of tyranny, which did not endure long. The constitution of Solon had not worked with success, and, in 560 B. C., a bold citizen, Pisistratus, who won the favor of the poorer people by demagogic arts, was able to establish himself in the Acropolis, with a foreign guard to uphold his power. Twice driven out, he

Tyranny of the Pisistratidæ at Athens. B. C. 560-510

was twice restored, and reigned quite justly and prudently, on the whole, until his death in 527 B. C. He was succeeded by his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus; but the latter was killed in 514, and Hippias was expelled by the Spartans in 510 B. C.; after which there was no tyranny in Athens.

In the forming of a new government to take the place of the overthrown tyranny, a majority of the noble or privileged class at Athens had struggled hard to regain their old ascendancy; but one of their number, Cleisthenes, took the side of the people and helped them to establish a democratic constitution. He caused the ancient tribal division of the citizens to be abolished, and substituted a division which mixed the members of clans and broke up or weakened the clannish influence in politics. He enlarged Solon's senate or council and divided it into committees, and he brought the "ecclesia," or popular assembly, into a more active exercise of its powers. He also introduced the custom of ostracism, which permitted the citizens of Athens to banish by their vote any man whom they thought dangerous to the state. The constitution of Cleisthenes was the final foundation of the Athenian democratic republic. But monarchical and aristocratic Sparta resented the popular change, and undertook to restore the oligarchy by force of arms. The Athenians, not yet schooled to self-confidence as a democracy, showed a moment of weakness, when they sought Persian help; but it passed quickly, and the newly won liberties of the peo-

The Athenian democratic republic established. B. C. 509–507

Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, ch. vi, sect. 3

ple were defended with vigor and success.

The defensive strength of the Athenian democracy was to be proved by a far more dreadful test; a test, not for Athens alone, but for the Greek people at large, showing to the world their remarkable qualities, and forming the beginning of their great career. Athens gave a daring provocation to the monarch of Persia in 501 B.C., when she sent ships and men to the support of a great revolt of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and the provocation was carried beyond forgiveness when Sardis, his Lydian capital, was captured and burned by Athenian troops. When the news of this reached him he is said to have shot an arrow to the sky, with a prayer for vengeance, and commanded a servant to repeat to him thrice daily the admonition: "Master, remember the Athenians." The thought of vengeance was kept in his mind for nearly seven years, until the Ionian revolt had been suppressed and all his preparations were carefully made. Then, in 493 B. C., he launched an expedition against Athens, and against Eretria, another Greek state which had aided the Ionian insurgents; but most of the fleet that bore it was destroyed by a storm. Three years later, in 490 B. C., he sent a second powerful army and fleet, which took Eretria and razed it to the ground. The great Persian army then marched upon Athens, and was met at Marathon by a small Athenian force of 9,000 men. The little city of Platæa sent 1,000 more to stand with them in the desperate encounter. They had no

Athens provokes the wrath of King Darius, B. C. 501

Beginning of the wars of Greeks and Persians

other aid in the fight, and the Persians were a great, unnumbered host. But Miltiades, the Greek general that day, planned his battle-charge so well that he routed the Asiatic host and lost but 192 men.

Marathon, B. C. 490

The Persians abandoned their attempt and returned to their wrathful king. One citizen of Athens, Themistocles, had sagacity enough to foresee that the "Great King," as he was known, would not rest submissive under his defeat; and with difficulty he persuaded his fellow citizens to prepare themselves for future conflicts by building a fleet and by fortifying their harbors, thus making themselves powerful at sea. Ten years later the wisdom of his counsels was proved. Darius had lived but four years after the Persian defeat at Marathon, and lost energy, perhaps, in his closing years. His son, Xerxes, who succeeded him in 486 B. C., had to deal with revolts in Egypt and Babylonia, and it was not until 480 B. C. that he found himself prepared to invade Greece and assail Athens again. Xerxes took the field in person and led an army of prodigious size, crossing the Hellespont by a bridge of boats. This time, Sparta, Corinth, and several of the lesser states, rallied with Athens to the defense of the common country; but Thebes and Argos showed friendship to the Persians, and none of the important island-colonies contributed any help. Athens was the brain and right arm of the war, notwithstanding the accustomed leadership of Sparta in military affairs.

Themistocles

Darius succeeded by Xerxes, B. C. 486

Second Persian attack, B. C. 480

Leonidas at Thermopylæ

The first encounter was at Thermopylæ, where Leonidas and his 300 Spartans defended the narrow pass, and died in their place when the Persians found a way across the mountain to surround them. But on that same day the Persian fleet was beaten at Artemisium. Xerxes marched on Athens, however, found the city deserted, and destroyed it. His fleet had followed him, and was still stronger than the naval force of the Greeks. Themistocles forced a battle, against the will of the Peloponnesian captains, and practically destroyed the Persian fleet. This most memorable battle of Salamis was decisive of the war, and decisive of the independence of Greece. Xerxes, in a panic, hastened back into Asia, leaving one of his generals, Mardonius, with 300,000 men, to pursue the war. But Mardonius was routed and his host annihilated, at Platæa, the next year, while the Persian fleet was again defeated on the same day at Mycale.

Artemisium

Battle of Salamis

Platæa and Mycale

Rome and the Romans

Early kingship

The Greeks had reached the beginning of their age of glory—their Golden Age—while the Romans were but coming to the threshold of their career. At Rome, as at Athens, there was a period of early kingship, the legends of which are as familiar to us all as the stories of the Bible, but the real facts of which are almost totally unknown. It is surmised that the later kings—the well known Tarquins of the classical tale—were Etruscan princes (it is certain that they were

Etruscans), who had broken for a time the independence of the Romans and extended their sovereignty over them. It is suspected, too, that this period of Etruscan domination was one in which Roman civilization made a great advance, under the tuition of a more cultivated people. But if Rome in its infancy did know a time of subjugation, the endurance was not long. It ended, according to Roman chronology, in the 245th year of the city, or 509 B. C., by the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, the last of the kings.

Expulsion of the Tarquins, B. C. 509

That the Romans of this early period were not the mere warriors—the mere "wolves of Italy" that most historians have depicted—has been argued by Professor Goldwin Smith with great force. "It is evident," he writes, "that in the period designated as that of the kings, when Rome commenced her career of conquest, she was, for that time and country, a great and wealthy city. This is proved by the works of the kings, the Capitoline Temple, the excavation for the Circus Maximus, the Servian Wall, and, above all the Cloaca Maxima [the great sewer] . . . . The Cloaca Maxima is in itself conclusive evidence of a large population, of wealth, and of a not inconsiderable degree of civilization. . . . Nothing surely can be more grotesque than the idea of a set of wolves, like the Norse pirates before their conversion to Christianity, constructing in their den the Cloaca Maxima. That Rome was comparatively great and wealthy is certain. We can hardly doubt that she was a seat of industry and

Early Roman culture

Goldwin Smith in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1878

commerce, and that the theory which represents her industry and commerce as having been developed subsequently to her conquests is the reverse of the fact. Whence, but from industry and commerce, could the population and the wealth have come? Peasant farmers do not live in cities, and plunderers do not accumulate."

An aristocratic republic

The republic founded in Rome after the expulsion of the last of the kings was not democratic, like that of Athens, but the aristocratic republic of a ruling class. The consuls, who replaced the kings, were required to be patricians, and they were chosen by the landholders of the state. The senate was patrician; all the important powers of government were in patrician hands, and the plebs were grievously oppressed. They were not of a tamely submissive race. They demanded powers for their own protection, and by slow degrees they won them—strong as the patricians were in their wealth and their trained political skill.

First "secession of the plebs;" first democratic gain. B. C. 494

Precisely as in Athens, the first great effort among the common people was to obtain relief from crushing burdens of debt, which had been laid upon them in precisely the same way—by loss of harvests while in military service, and by the hardness of the laws which creditors alone had framed. An army of plebs, just home from war, marched out of the city and refused to return until magistrates of their own choosing had been conceded. The patricians could not afford to lose the bone and sinew of their state, and they yielded

the point in demand. This first "secession of the plebs" brought about the first great democratic change in the Roman constitution, by calling into existence a powerful magistracy,—t[illegible] Tribunes of the Plebs,—who stood henceforth between the consuls and the common people, for the protection of the latter.

Tribunes of the plebs

HISTORIC EPOCHS

II

EPOCH OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

(FROM THE PERSIAN INVASION OF GREECE TO THE GOTHIC CAPTURE OF ROME)

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE SECOND EPOCH

CHAPTER V

FROM THE AGE OF XERXES TO THE AGE OF HANNIBAL

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE AGE OF HANNIBAL TO THE DEATH OF CÆSAR

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE DEATH OF ALARIC

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE SECOND EPOCH

The intelligence of the Greeks and their democratic training to self-reliance made them (in the age of their glory) the best soldiers of the time, and they were in great demand for mercenary service among their neighbors, besides being engaged ceaselessly in wars of their own. Fighting came to be a trade and generalship a profession for many, Athenians as well as others, and this, in Greek opinion, may have helped to dim the luster of purely military exploits. At all events, it seems certain that the measure of fame awarded in ancient Greece to mere successes in war was less than to notable achievements in many other fields. The eminent soldier had to be something more,—an historian, like Xenophon, or a political leader, like Cimon, the son of Miltiades, or a noble character, like Epaminondas, or a man of universal brilliancy, like Alcibiades,—if his name was to stand very high on the Greek scroll of fame.

Alexander the Great. B. C. 356-323

Even the case of the Macedonian-Greek Alexander, called "the Great," is not such an exception to this statement as it may seem to be; for the extraordinary fame of Alexander rests, mainly, on the measureless consequences, unforeseen and unintended by him, that came from his easy overthrow of the Persian power. He won not a

little of it, moreover, by a single constructive act, in which he is credited with a political sagacity that belongs more probably to other minds. When he founded the famous city that bears his name in the Nile delta, on the strip of land between Lake Mareotis and the Mediterranean, it is not in the least degree likely that he did so from his own original perception of the commercial advantages of the site. The wide-awake Greek traders had been striving too long after footholds in Egypt for that discovery to be left to Alexander. City-planting was a royal pastime in those days, and Alexander indulged himself in it wherever he went. Of the many he founded, one, only, grew to grandeur and wealth.

Philip of Macedon. B. C. 382-336

Alexander has received more than his due of fame; Philip, his father, has received less. It is not easy to dispute the judgment of Niebuhr and other historians, both ancient and modern, who rate the abilities and rank the achievements of the father, in their actual quality, above those of the son. Alexander harvested the fruit of Philip's work, and the harvest bore with it a surpassing fame.

Pericles. B. C. 495-429

Statesmanship,—wisdom and skill in political affairs,—was prized highly by the Greeks; but something else, even there, seemed needed for the gilding of a very lustrous name. It was the statesman like Pericles, who could decorate his policy, so to speak, with the graces of eloquence, of well-displayed taste, and of a well-applied patronage of literature and art, who won the most

renown. The policy of Pericles was condemned by events. On the domestic side it corrupted the Athenian democracy, by pampering indulgences; on the foreign side it led Athens into the ruinous Peloponnesian War; but it had an artistic side which captivated his countrymen and which has been lasting in charm. He gave splendor and beauty to Athens, not scrupling to use moneys of the allied cities,—trust funds in the treasury of the Delian confederacy,—for his lavish architectural expenditure. Moreover, fortune gave him his ascendancy in one of the rare seasons of fruitful genius, so that his name, like those of Augustus at Rome and Louis XIV. of France, received luster from an abnormal brilliancy in the age.

Morally, the culture of the Greeks shows nothing of the distinction that belongs to it on the intellectual side. Certain instincts of rectitude and honor that were conspicuous in much of Roman character appear to have been weak (speaking generally) in their minds. Artistically and intellectually, however, they appreciated all virtues, and valued them in their public men. They did justice to the moral superiority of the great Theban, Epaminondas, who shines among the soldier-statesmen of Greek history by the purity of his patriotism and his general uprightness, as well as by the large and generous spirit that seemed to animate him in all that he did.

Epaminondas. B. C. 418(?)-362

On the other hand, want of principle,—a moral lightness of character,—ruined the career of

Alcibiades. B.C.450(?) -404

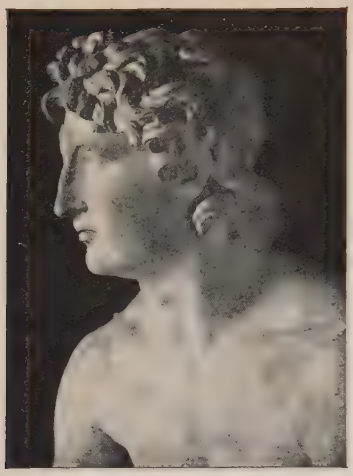
Alcibiades, a man of such genius that, in the opinion of Thucydides, he might have changed the result of the Peloponnesian War. Niebuhr finds no one in ancient history, save Cæsar, to compare with him in powers; and yet, beloved disciple and friend of Socrates as he was in his youth, the life of Alcibiades was a failure, because he had nothing in his moral nature that could guide him in a straight course.

Although we have to say of the Greeks, as a race, that they were not eminent in moral culture, they were the first of all peoples, nevertheless, to make conduct a subject of study, in the endeavor to arrive at fixed principles of right and wrong; and the noblest names furnished to the roll of the Greek immortals are from the founders of that philosophical study. In the ages before Christ there is no other character known to us that is morally so great as that of Socrates, the typical seeker after truth,—sincerest of great thinkers, most self-regardless of great teachers, serenest of great souls. There was no dogmatism in his teaching; "his mission was to cure men's minds of half-thinking,—to drive them to the end of a thought,—force them to rummage the contents of an idea and find all that belongs to it."

Socrates. B.C.470(?) -399

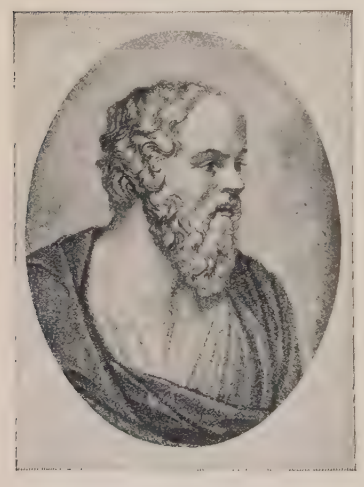
Socrates left nothing in writing; most of what we know of him is from the representation of his shrewd questioning and wise discourse in the wonderful *Dialogues* of his great disciple, Plato, and from the *Memorabilia* that Xenophon wrote as a tribute of reverence and love. If Plato had

Plato. B.C. 429(?)-347

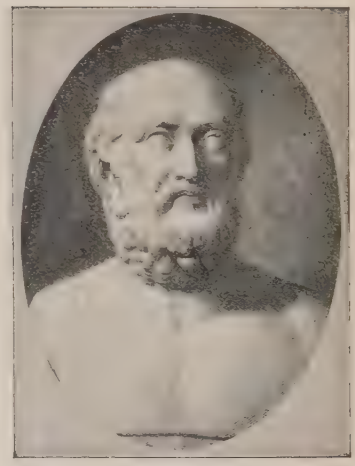


Alexander the Great
Head of the Statue of Alexander
the Great, Munich, Glyptothek

Pericles
From Bust in British Museum



Socrates
From Bust in the Capitol, Rome



Plato
From Bust in Uffizi Gallery

not been nearly his master's equal in intellect and spirit he could never have delineated the grand character of the homely sculptor as he did. In his own right he holds a place among the loftiest thinkers of all times; but assuredly it is higher because he talked with Socrates than it would otherwise have been.

Aristotle. B. C. 384-322

From the same truth-seeking school came Aristotle, who led the search into added fields and made it more scientific and exact. Philosophy in his hands was enlarged, to embrace natural science, as well as morals and metaphysics. Natural science, indeed, may be said to have originated with Aristotle, if we define it with strictness, as knowledge pursued and acquired by systematic observation, classification, and comparison of the phenomena of the natural world. No other teacher of antiquity projected so much of his teaching across the chasm of the Dark Ages, to the mediæval and modern mind; no other teacher of any period was ever, for so long a time and for so large a part of mankind, the oracle of knowledge and the guide of thought. Macedonian by birth, Athenian by culture, pupil of Plato, tutor of Alexander the Great, founder of an independent school of philosophy at Athens after Plato's death, sometimes called "the Stagirite," from Stagira, the place of his nativity, sometimes called "the peripatetic philosopher," from his habit of walking as he lectured, in his school of the Lyceum,—these are the principal dry facts of his life.

Since Aristotle, who was the first to attempt a logical science of the principles of human conduct, many systems of ethical theory have been worked out; but they are all divided by one main contention, following one or the other of two lines of theory,—the stoical, so called from the school of Zeno, who taught it at Athens, and the epicurean, named from its first promulgator, Epicurus. In the stoic view, right and wrong are absolute facts, belonging to the nature of things; in the epicurean, they are mere backward reflections from the consequences of conduct, and our recognition of them is derived from our observation of what does and what does not conduce to happiness. The stoic welcomes happiness as the high reward of virtue; the epicurean values virtue as a means to happiness; what one slights as a mere incident, the other cherishes as the end of all seeking. In its essence, the nobler stoic view is found in the teachings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; but Zeno made it the basis of an ethical scheme of life. His School of the Stoics received its name from the porch of the Agora, where his discourses were given. The opposing school of Epicurus was founded at nearly the same time.

Zeno, died B. C. 264, and the Stoics

Epicurus. B. C. 342-270

It is idle to ask whether the Greek genius shone most in pure thought or in art. Philosophers, dramatists, orators, historians, sculptors, architects, painters, in the same matchless age, found different expressions for the marvelous powers of their race. Perhaps the dramatic expression was the more original one, since the Greek drama was

Æschylus. B. C. 525-456

an absolute creation, springing as a distinctly artistic form of literature from the conceptions of Æschylus, whom John Addington Symonds characterizes as "the demiurge of ancient art." "Tragedy," says Mr. Symonds, "had scarcely passed beyond the dithyrambic stage when he received it from the hands of Phrynicus. Æschylus gave it the form which, with comparatively unimportant alterations, it maintained throughout the brilliant period of Attic culture." He developed dialogue and devised stage machinery and scenes; while "the purely creative faculty has never been exhibited upon a greater scale, or applied to material more utterly beyond the range of the feebler poets," than in the conception and composition of the great tragedies that he gave to his reconstructed stage. Sophocles, his next successor, whom Professor Jebb regards as "the purest type of the Greek intellect," refined the art which Æschylus had modeled with a powerful but rude touch, and Euripides gave it a warmth of emotion that was new, or humanized it, as some critics prefer to say.

J. A. Symonds, *The Greek Poets*, i, 376, 377

Sophocles. B. C. 495-406

Euripides. B. C. 480-406

Meantime, Herodotus and Thucydides were not only discovering another subject of art, but perfecting another form of it, in the composition of history, evoking a noble literature from what had been hitherto a bare chronicling of events. Herodotus, "the Father of History," as he was named with justice, worked in the larger field, traveling widely in Asia and Egypt, as well as in Greece, to gather materials for a history of the

Herodotus. B.C.484(?) -424(?)

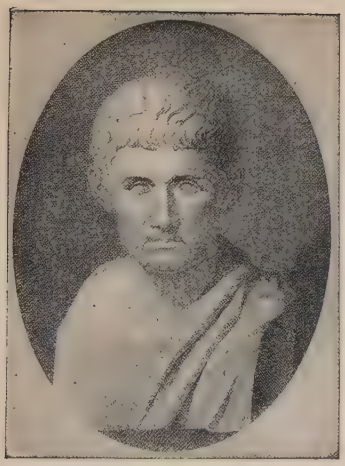
wars of the Greeks with the Persians, which is, in reality, an account of all that he could learn of the annals and the life of the ancient nations of the east before and during his day. Until the buried records of Egypt and western Asia began to be found and deciphered in recent years, his work was the great treasure-store of ancient history, but regarded with much unmerited distrust. The late discoveries tend to prove that Herodotus was as careful an investigator of facts as one could well be in an age when fables were rife. Thucydides stayed on surer ground. He was the historian of his own time, partly of his own experiences, as an actor in the Peloponnesian War, and he produced the one model of historical composition that is so accepted, by common consent, to this day.

Thucydides B.C. 471 (?) -401 (?)

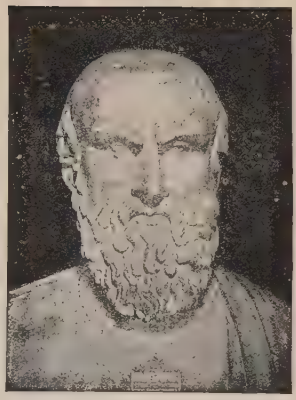
Two centuries after Thucydides, when the Romans had vanquished Greece, they carried as a prisoner to Rome, among the chief men of the Achæan League, one, Polybius, an Arcadian Greek, "who first," says Mommsen, "or rather alone, brought literary appreciation and description to bear on Rome's place in the world, and to whom subsequent generations, and we, too, owe the best part of our knowledge of the Roman development." The *Histories* of Polybius, beginning with the Hannibalic War and ending abruptly in the midst of the events of the year 152 B. C., are of inestimable value for the period, though imperfectly preserved.

Polybius. B. C. 204–125 (?)

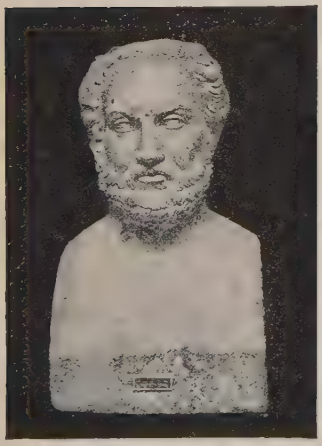
Still later, by nearly two centuries, appeared



Aristotle
From Antique Bust



Aeschylus
From Bust in Capitol, Rome



Thucydides
From Bust in Museum, Naples

Ptolemy Soter
From a Coin

Plutarch, whose charming parallel biographies of Greek and Roman public men are the best known of all Greek historical writings to modern general readers. Plutarch "is a moralist rather than a historian. His interest is less for politics and the changes of empires, and much more for personal character and individual actions and motives to action." Plutarch: A. D. 46 (?) -120(?)

Greek oratory can hardly be called an original creation, since public speech must be almost as old as human society; but nothing in any other equally ancient literature resembles the formal art of the orations of Pericles, Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Demosthenes, Æschines, and others of a famous group. Greek orators

In arts addressed to the eye the Greeks of antiquity have been the teachers of all the world since. The edifices of Ictinus and Mnesicles are in ruins; the finest and most famed sculpture of Polycletus, Phidias, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippus have perished; but enough has escaped the destroying hand of Time to furnish types of perfection that are as changeless as truth. Of Greek painting, on the contrary, the modern world knows really nothing beyond the names of Polygnotus, Apollodorus, Zeuxis, Apelles, and other painters who were famous in their day. Greek artists

After the conquests of Alexander had drawn the Greeks into Asia and Africa, the Hellenic genius made its most brilliant displays in those outer fields. Ptolemy Soter and his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, the first and second of the Mace- Ptolemy Soter, died B. C. 283

Ptolemy Philadelphus. B. C. 309-247

donian kings of Egypt, are distinctly the most notable actors of their time in public affairs. Their reorganization of the venerable realm of the Pharaohs; their splendid creation of the city of Alexandria; the success of their fine ambition to make it the center of learning,—the seat of the greatest libraries and schools,—were achievements of statesmanship hardly equaled in the ancient world.

The Seleucidæ

Nothing to compare with it was done by the Seleucid kings, in their Syrian dominion; though magnificent cities, like Antioch, sprang up at their command. Among those who became subjects of the Syrian monarchy were a people whose capability was equaled only by that of the Romans and the Greeks. These, the Jews, were invited and made use of by the Ptolemies, but oppressed by their later sovereigns, the Seleucids, who drove them to revolt, and thus called into history the one character of striking interest in the annals of the Syrian kingdom. Judas, called Maccabæus, who became the leader of the rising, was so much its master-spirit that the patriotic motive in it died with him when he fell in battle. Through factious struggles that came afterward, his family was raised, by the prestige he had given it, to a re-erected Jewish throne.

Judas Maccabæus died B. C. 160

Roman chief characters

When we turn from the Greeks to the Romans, seeking distinguished company, we find the character of the larger circles of high society much changed. The Latin race spends its powers more in action than in thought. It borrows its

philosophy from the Greeks; the science it studies is law; its literature is a late production, for it is slow in learning skill with the pen; the arts it cultivates most assiduously are those of the sword. Hence the Roman trump of fame sounds most frequently a martial note; the majority of illustrious names in the annals of the republic and the empire are those of soldiers and men conspicuous in public affairs.

Passing the half-mythical war-chiefs and patriots of early legend, such as Lucius Junius Brutus, Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, Camillus, it is not till we come to the Punic wars that the great personages of substantial eminence in Roman history begin to be met. Then, in succession, we come upon Metellus, who defeated the Carthaginians at Panormus; Flaminius, tribune and consul, builder of the Flaminian Way, first distributer of public lands among the veterans of the wars, who suffered defeat and death in battle with Hannibal at Lake Trasimene; Fabius, "the cunctator" (lingerer), who wearied and wore out the army of the invincible Carthaginian, by ceaseless harassment, evading battle; Caius Claudius Nero, who defeated Hasdrubal; Publius Cornelius Scipio, called Africanus, who subdued Carthaginian Spain, carried the war to the gates of Carthage itself, overthrew Hannibal at Zama, ended the second Punic War, and became a personal power in the republic too great to be amenable to law.

Legendary heroes

Metellus, died B. C. 221

Flaminius, died B. C. 217

Fabius, died B. C. 203

C. Claudius Nero, consul, B. C. 207

Scipio Africanus. B.C. 234(?)-183(?)

But the grand figure in these wars is Hannibal,

Hannibal. B. C. 247-183

a mightier warrior than Rome ever produced, save Cæsar only; beside whom the commanders who opposed him were mere prentices, taking lessons in war from their own discomfitures and defeats. The Romans were but rude fighters till he taught them strategic art, which they were quick to learn, and learned thoroughly well. In character, too, Hannibal appears to represent one of the highest of military types. Seen only in portraiture by his enemies, with features of barbarity that are most likely exaggerated, he shows nothing mean, nothing that is not massive and strong.

The heroes of the next Roman campaigns of importance, which extinguished the Macedonian kingdom and subjugated Greece, were Flamininus, who defeated the third Philip of Macedon, at Cynoscephalæ, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who overthrew Perseus, son of Philip, at Pydna, and took him captive to Rome. A little later, the son of Æmilius Paulus, adopted by the great Scipio and known as Scipio Æmilianus, or Scipio Africanus Minor, gave final satisfaction to the Roman hatred and dread of Carthage, by capturing and destroying the city, after its despairing people had been driven to resist the oppressive and insulting mandates of Rome.

Flamininus B.C.230(?) -174(?)

L. Æmilius Paulus, B. C. 229(?)-160

Sipio Africanus Minor. B. C. 185(?)-129

The Roman most responsible for this act of savage policy was the stern censor, Cato, who typified the unlovely hardness of temper which virtue had a tendency to acquire in that strenuous race. Hard, narrow, and niggardly, he was

Cato, the Censor B.C. 234-149

no harsher to others than to himself. He was bitter in hostility to the Greek culture which invaded Rome, because he hated the suppleness of the Greek character; yet, in mind, he was probably the most cultivated Roman of his day. As an orator and writer he is credited with the first moulding of classic Latin prose. He had the distinction of honesty and simplicity of life, in an age when both had become rare.

For we have arrived at the evil days of the republic, when the poison of its long, intoxicating draughts of spoil and tribute from conquered nations had corrupted its blood; when the blight of overspreading slavery had stricken its social system; when its common people had become pauperized and degraded, and its dominating patricians kept their power and their possessions by feeding, diverting and bribing an always dangerous mob. Throughout the last century of the republic the prominent figures in its history are patriotic reformers, who strove vainly against the maladies that were destroying the state, and chiefs of faction who hastened the destruction by internecine wars. The two brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, who took upon themselves, in turn, the perilous duty of leading attacks on the grasping senate and its insolent party,—monopolists of the soil of Italy and plunderers of Roman provinces,—were nobly blind to the debasement of the people whom they tried to serve. The only sign of hope for Rome when it looked on at the bold murdering of one and then the other, doing

Tiberius Gracchus, slain B. C. 133

Caius Gracchus, slain B. C. 121

nothing to defend or avenge them, was in the fact that it could, even yet, breed two patriots of the ancient mould.

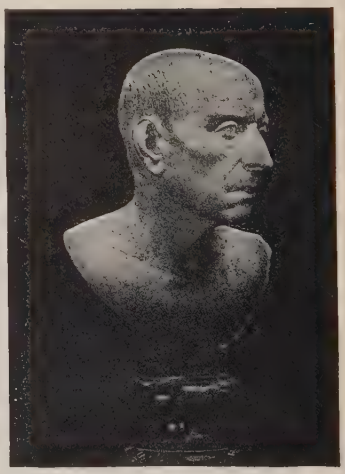
Marius. B. C. 155(?)-86

The distinguished products of the next generation were the terrible soldiers, Marius and Sulla, who drew the factions of the time into military camps. Marius, low-born, rude, barbarous, a strong soldier and naught else, became the idol of the Roman populace by reason of his successes in the Jugurthine War and against the invading Cimbri and Teutones, and might have centered the whole government in himself if he had known how; but he had no capacity for the political position in which he was placed. Sulla, coming from the so-called "Social War" with the Italians as a commander of devoted legions that would follow him against Rome itself, is no soldier of the Marius type, but one of the enigmatic characters of history, impossible to understand. Seen in the successive acts of his dramatic career,—leaving his enemies to establish themselves in power and to massacre his friends, while he goes with cool indifference to undertake and finish the Mithridatic war in Greece; returning with equally cool self-confidence to make himself master and dictator at Rome; destroying his enemies with passionless brutality, by proscriptions that mark them for any assassin who will hunt them down; framing a new constitution for Rome in which he plans nothing for himself; laying down the power that is absolute in his hands, and withdrawing to private life, like a philosopher, and like one who

Sula. B.C. 138(?)-78

Demosthenes
Statue in the Vatican

Hannibal
From Bust in Museum, Naples



Cicero
From Bust in Uffizi Gallery

has nothing to fear,—his whole course is unique, his character to be compared with no other.

When Sulla left the stage there were four men conspicuously aspiring to control the future destinies of Rome. They were Pompey (Pompeius), Crassus, Cicero, and Cæsar. Pompey was already very near to a height of military fame, power, and popularity from which he could have dominated the situation, as Sulla did, if a really scrupulous respect for the republic and its constitution had not held him back. Of the four men named, he and Cicero were undoubtedly the least self-seeking in their ambition, though it cannot be said of either that his patriotism was unalloyed. There were two-sided motives, public and personal, in both cases, strong enough on each side to cause hesitations that were fatal to success. Pompey, moreover, seemed weakened by a lack of any clear political ideas for the guiding of his course; and so he drifted till he fell into Cæsar's wake. Cicero had no such lack. The impossible aim of maintaining senatorial ascendancy in the government, under the forms of the republican constitution, was very definite and confirmed in his mind. But Cicero, the great orator, the finely thoughtful essayist, the meditative moralist, the cultured Roman gentleman, was not at his best in politics, and no match for one, at least, of those with whom he contended.

Cæsar. B.C. 100-44

Pompey. B.C. 106-48

Cicero. B.C. 106-43

The ambition of Crassus was founded on little more than the potency of his wealth, and it became helpful to Cæsar, rather than to himself.

Mackail, *Latin Literature*, pp. 41, 44, 49

of physical and historical science, been adequately recognized. . . . In his theory of light Lucretius was in advance of Newton. In his theory of chemical affinities (for he describes the thing though the nomenclature was unknown to him) he was in advance of Lavoisier. In his theory of the ultimate constitution of the atom he is in striking agreement with the views of the ablest living physicists." And the poem is not only astonishing in its scientific ideas, but is "a model of the purest Latin idiom in the precise age of its perfection."

Catallus. B. C. 87(?)-54

The lyrics of Catullus are admired by many critics quite equally with those of Pindar and Sappho; some rank him above all other Romen poets, and few question his standing among the first.

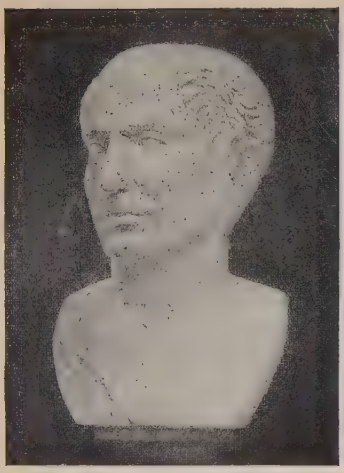
The period of the perfection of Latin prose, commonly called the Ciceronian age, was followed closely by one, the Augustan, during which poetry took the lead in cultivation and gave a higher literary distinction to the time. Its

Virgil. B. C. 70-19

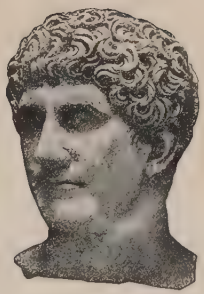
greatest name is that of Virgil, "the Roman Homer," writer of the one heroic epic that is ever coupled with the *Iliad* in the categories of narrative verse. Of the right of Virgil to a place in the small list of the supreme poets of the world there

Horace. B. C. 65-8

is seldom any dispute. "It is to Virgil and Horace that the Augustan era owes its rank among the great eras of poetry. Virgil is the exponent of its highest hopes and ideas. In the spheres of government, of national and religious feeling, of all



Julius Caesar
From Bust in Museum, Naples



Mark Antony
From Bust in the Louvre

Augustus
Bust in Vatican

Virgil
Bust in the Capitol, Rome

the finer influences of nature and human relationship, it was through him that the most searching, the most idealizing, and the most enduring revelation was made. It was in him, too, that the national literature, after a century and a half of effort, attained its final perfection. But, for our knowledge of the actual life of the time, of its manners and humors, of its gayety on the surface and of some of its deeper currents of serious feeling, we must go to another representative of the age. . . . He [Horace] is at once the lyrical poet, with heart and imagination responsive to the deeper meaning and lighter amusements of life, and the satirist, the moralist, and the literary critic of the age."

W. Y. Sellar *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*, 2 : 2

In the prose literature of the Augustan age Livy's elaborate history of Rome, from the founding of the city till his own day, was the one greatly important work. It was divided into an hundred and forty-two books, of which thirty-five only, or a fourth of the whole, have been preserved. The books saved, which repeat the legends of an early time, are probably the least valuable parts of the work; but Livy, it is evident, was not critical of the sources from which he drew, for any period, caring more for the literary quality of his narrative, and its lively effect, than for accuracy in the statements he made.

Livy. B. C. 59-A. D. 17

More valuable than the surviving portions of Livy's history are the fragments that have come down from the one other classic Roman historian,

Tacitus. A.D.55-117

Tacitus, who came later by a hundred years, and who wrote the history of the first century of the empire, down to the reign of Domitian; "an immortal work," says Gibbon, "every sentence of which is pregnant with the deepest observations and the most lively images."

In the interval between Livy and Tacitus, the literary names of most eminence are those of Seneca, the courtier-philosopher, the millionaire stoic moralist, tutor of Nero as a boy, his minister when the boy became emperor, his victim when boundless power had maddened the grown man; and Pliny the Elder, whose encyclopædic compilation of the scientific knowledge of his age, in thirty-seven books of *Natural History*, throws the best possible light on the learning of those days. Seneca took his own life at Nero's command; Pliny fell a victim to his scientific zeal, which drew him into the fiery circle of volcanic discharges from Mount Vesuvius, where he watched the overwhelming of Pompeii and Herculaneum until he shared their fate.

Seneca. B. C. 4(?)-A. D. 65

Pliny the Elder. A.D. 23-79

By this time the gospel of Christianity had been carried into the heart of the Roman world, and the name that is above all other names in history is waiting to be taken into our list. Whether as a human character or one more than human, Jesus, the Christ, is supreme in his perfections and supreme in the historical importance of his few years of teaching in Judea. His birth was in the reign of Augustus, the first of the Roman emperors; his crucifixion in that of the second

Jesus, the Christ. B.C. 4(?)-A. D. 30(?)

emperor, Tiberius. Peter, the chief of his twelve immediate disciples and first apostles, is believed to have been the founder of the Christian church at Rome, which grew to so much influence in the reign of Nero that the mad despot attempted to strike it down. According to the traditions of the church, Peter perished in Nero's persecution, and with him Paul, "the apostle to the Gentiles," greatest of Christian missionaries, who led in labors which, already, had planted the Christian church widely throughout Asia Minor and Greece.

St. Peter

St. Paul

But the impression that Christianity had made on the Roman people was very slight as yet. Speaking generally, they had no religious belief. They had lost that of the old mythology and accepted nothing in its place. Spiritual-minded, thoughtful men found a substitute for religion in the stoic philosophy, which spiritualizes morality to the last degree. As a doctrine of life, stoicism is "the acted consciousness of an eternal superiority in the soul of man to all the conditions of its existence in a body of clay." "Sovereignty of spirit over flesh, of reason over passion, is the surpassing attainment through moral discipline, in the stoic view." This spiritualized, almost religious morality had been taught in Rome by many of the Greek disciples of Zeno for nearly three centuries, and had been winning the better minds of late years very fast. Seneca gave it a strong impulse, no doubt, by his excellent discourses, and Epictetus, the Phrygian freedman, or freed slave, must have given it more. It bore

Roman Stoics

Larned, *A Multitude of Counselors*, pp. 13-15

Epictetus. 1st century after Christ

its noblest fruit in the next century, when it gave Rome an emperor whose peer in nobility of character and elevation of mind is hardly to be found among the occupants of thrones. Marcus Aurelius, the emperor,—absolute master of the Roman world,—and Epictetus, the liberated slave, are the two perfect exponents of stoicism, illustrating, in the extremest opposition of circumstances, the wisdom it could impart, the spirit it could cultivate, the life it could direct. "The stoic creed has influenced morals a thousand times more through the pregnant injunctions and examples of these two men, the slave and the emperor, than through the logic of all its philosophers."

Marcus Aurelius. A. D. 121-180

Larned, *A Multitude of Counsellors*

Marcus Aurelius was the last in a series of good rulers who gave happiness to the empire for a century, with but one interruption, when the hateful Domitian held the throne. The series began with Vespasian, whose soldierly virtues were crude but genuine, the growth of a nature as simple as it was strong. By its simplicity as well as by its strength it saved him from the intoxications of imperial power. His son Titus reigned too briefly to show fully why it was that he was called "the delight of mankind;" but long enough to give evidence of exalted motives in the exercise of his great sovereignty, and a sincere desire to make it serviceable to the public weal. That Domitian was the brother of Titus and the son of Vespasian is a fact hard to understand.

Vespasian. A. D. 9-79

Titus. A.D. 40(?)-81

After the bloody interval which Domitian

introduced, and the short reign of the aged Nerva, came Trajan, bringing again the firm hand of a strong soldier to the helm of the half-wrecked state. He had been deliberately chosen for succession to the throne, from among the military commanders of the day, and no mistake was made in the choice. He erred in resuming wars of conquest, extending the bounds of an empire already too large; but he restored the weakened authority of government, and set a manly and wholesome example of character and life. He was devoid of jealousy and malice, straightforward and open in his dealings with men.

Trajan. A.D.53-117

His successor, Hadrian, made so by his choice and adoption, was not his equal in virile qualities, but a sagacious and accomplished sovereign,—wise enough to relinquish the useless conquests of Trajan, and more careful to acquaint himself with every part of his dominion than any other emperor had been. If he showed degeneration in his later years, it seems to have been the consequence of a tormenting disease.

Hadrian. A.D.76-138

Again by adoption, the scepter was given, after Hadrian, to a singularly good man, Antoninus Pius, whose long reign is "one of those happy periods that have no history. An almost unbroken peace reigned at home and abroad. Taxes were lightened, calamities relieved, informers discouraged; confiscations were rare, plots and executions were almost unknown. Throughout the whole extent of his vast domain the people loved and valued their emperor, and the

Antoninus Pius. A.D. 86-161

F. W. Farrar, *Seekers After God*

emperor's one aim was to further the happiness of his people." As the son by adoption and the chosen successor of this excellent sovereign, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was reared in virtue, and all his fine aptitudes were cultivated, by example and by teaching, to make him "the noblest Roman of them all."

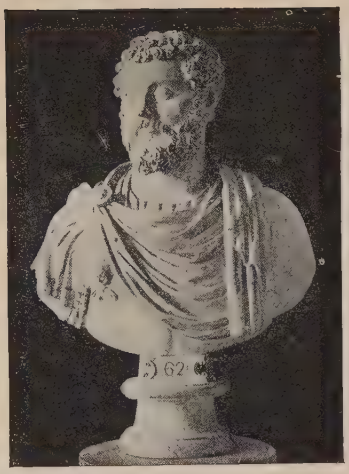
After Marcus Aurelius, there are few emperors of marked ability or character, and none of notable distinction, till we pass a full century and come to Diocletian, the reorganizer of the empire, by a new constitution, which cannot be said to have checked its decline, but which, by dividing and re-dividing the sovereignty, augmented disorders and hastened the inevitable dissolution. As long as Diocletian kept his colleagues in subordination by his dominating personality the new system worked well; but when he wearied of greatness and power, and withdrew to private life, an explosion of jealous rivalries was not long delayed.

Diocletian. A. D. 245-313

Years of civil war fused the empire into unity again, for a time, with Constantine, the craftiest and most determined of the contestants, in sole possession of the throne. Because this successful adventurer was shrewd enough to see how powerful a party the Christians had become, and secured their support by a nominal "conversion" to the Christian faith, giving it thereby a new footing in the Roman world, he is frequently misnamed "the Great." In a certain manner he was able, but he was neither great nor good. How is

Constantine. A.D. 272-337

Tacitus
From an Antique Bust



Marcus Aurelius
Bust in Capitol, Rome

Trajan
Bust in the Vatican

Antoninus Pius
Bust in British Museum

it possible to believe in the sincerity of his profession of the religion of Christ, when his after life was full of such hideous crimes of suspicious jealousy as the execution of a son, a sister, a wife, a nephew, and others of his own kin? His favor was simply corrupting to the Christian church. Every account of his reign discloses the rankness of hypocrisy that was bred among the priests and professed Christians of the imperial court. To quote Neander, "even Eusebius, the panegyrist of Constantine, blinded as he was by the splendor which the latter had cast over the outward church, although he would gladly say nothing but good of his hero, yet even he is obliged to reckon among the grievous evils of this period, of which he was an eye-witness, the indescribable hypocrisy of those who gave themselves out as Christians merely for temporary advantage."

Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, (Bohn) 3:39

That Julian, Constantine's nephew, turned with disgust from the kind of Christianity that he saw at the court in which he was reared, can be no matter of wonder, for he was a man of sincerity and serious mind. It seems probable that the teachings of Jesus would have been acceptable to Julian if they had reached him in their purity and truth. In preferring the philosophic paganism that held its ground still in the Greek schools, and in endeavoring, when he came to the throne, to employ it as a means of moral purification and elevation, he was less an "apostate,"—less deserving of the stigma of that appellation,—than Constantine and the sons of Constantine, who

Julian. A. D. 331-363

debased the Christian church and dishonored the Christian name.

To say that the church was debased by the corruptions and hypocrisies that surrounded the imperial court is not to say that it was depraved throughout. An abundance of its true spirit was kept in life yet, and some of the greatest minds ever dedicated to its service were employed upon the problems of Christian belief and Christian conduct in these very times. If dogmas were more considered than principles by "the Fathers" of the fourth century, nevertheless the aim of Christ-likeness in life was an evident inspiration of most that they thought and wrote. Even Athanasius, the theological warrior of the church, implacable enemy of Arianism, "father of orthodoxy," who fought unitarianism out and trinitarianism into the prevailing creed, and kept it there, was more than the partisan of a dogma in what he did. So, too, were Basil, called "the Great," Chrysostom, "the golden-mouthed," Jerome, who gave the Vulgate translation of the Bible to the Latin world, and Augustine, who stands first among "the Fathers" in modern esteem. So, too, was Ulfilas, the Arian missionary, who carried that condemned doctrine of Christianity to the Goths, and gave them the Bible in their own language, some extant fragments of which afford all that is known of the ancient Gothic speech.

Athanasius A.D. 296(?) 373

Basil. A. D. 329-379

Chrysostom. A.D. 347(?)-407

Jerome. A.D. 340(?) 420

Augustine. A. D. 354-430

Ulfilas. A. D. 311-381

Of public personages in the later years of the decaying empire there are not more than three

who seem to merit a place in this selected gallery of chief characters in the Greek and Roman epoch of history. They are Theodosius, the last sovereign who ruled the whole empire of Rome; Stilicho, the able statesman and valiant soldier, of Vandal birth, who fought Alaric the Visigoth, resisting the doom of the worthless imperial government in the west till it put him to death; and Alaric himself, the first of all the enemies of Rome, since the Gauls, to break her gates, to enter her streets as a victor, and despoil her with barbaric greed.

Theodosius A.D. 346(?) -395

Stilicho. A.D. 359(?) -408

Alaric. A.D. 376(?)-410

CHAPTER V

FROM THE AGE OF XERXES TO THE AGE OF HANNIBAL

(B. C. 480 to 200)

The Greeks: The rebuilding of Athens.—The Confederacy of Delos.—Despotic use of Athenian power.—The Age of Pericles.—The Peloponnesian war.—Triumph of the enemies of Athens.—Decay of the Persian empire.—Retreat of the Ten Thousand.—Breaking of the Spartan yoke by Thebes.—Subjugation of Greece by Philip of Macedon. *The Macedonian Empire:* Overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander.—Great results from his conquests.—Division of his dominions after his death.—The Syrian monarchy of Seleucus.—The new Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies.—Degeneracy of the Greeks at home.—Their activity and influence in the field of the Macedonian conquests.—Alexandria.—The Jews of the "diaspora." *India:* The kingdom of Magadha.—Asoka.—Establishment of Buddhism.—Evolution of Hinduism. *The Roman Republic:* Roman subjugation of all Italy.—War with Pyrrhus.—The Punic wars.—Hannibal in Italy.—Fall of Carthage.

Beginning of European ascendancy

In this period, the predominance in history of the races of Europe over the races of Asia and Africa,—of the peoples of Aryan speech over the peoples of Semitic speech,—foreshadowed in the failure of the Persian invasions of Greece, was made complete and final by the Macedonian overthrow of the Persian empire and by the Roman destruction of Carthage. It is the period of the first profoundly revolutionary change that history discloses to us, in the processes and the product of the civilization of mankind.

Greece

The war of the Greeks with the Persians had been glorious for the Athenians, and all could see that Greece had been saved by their spirit and their intelligence much more than by the valor of

Sparta and other states. But they were in a woeful condition, with their city destroyed and their families without homes. Wasting no time in lamentations, they rebuilt the town, stretched its walls to a wider circuit, and fortified it more strongly than before, under the lead of the sagacious Themistocles. Their neighbors were meanly jealous, and Sparta made attempts to interfere with the building of the walls; but Themistocles baffled them cunningly, and the new Athens rose proudly out of the ashes of the old.

Athens after the Persian war

The Ionian islands and towns of Asia Minor (which had broken the Persian yoke) now recognized the superiority of Athens, and a league was formed among them, which held the meetings of its deputies and kept its treasury in the temple of Apollo on the sacred island of Delos; for which reason it was called the Confederacy of Delos, or the Delian League. The Peloponnesian states formed a looser rival league under the headship of Sparta. The Confederacy of Delos was in sympathy with popular governments and popular parties everywhere, while the Spartans and their following favored oligarchies and aristocratic parties. There were many occasions for hostility between the two.

The Delian League

The Athenians, at the head of their confederacy, were strong, until they impaired their power by using it in tyrannical ways. Many lesser states in the league were unwise enough to commute, in money payments, the contribution of ships and men which they had pledged them-

selves to make to the common naval force. This gave Athens the power to use that force despotically, as her own, and she did not scruple to exercise the power. The confederacy was soon a name; the states forming it were no longer allies of Athens, but her subjects; she ruled them as the sovereign of an empire, and her rule was neither generous nor just. Thereby the double tie of kinship and of interest which might have bound the whole circle of Ionian states to her fortunes and herself was destroyed by her own acts. Provoking the hatred of her allies and challenging the jealous fear of her rivals, Athens had many foes.

Despotical ascendancy of Athens

At the same time a dangerous change in the character of her democratic institutions was begun, produced especially by the institution of popular jury-courts, before which prosecutions of every kind were tried, the citizens who constituted the courts acting as jury and judge at once. This gave them a valuable training, without doubt, and helped to raise the common standard of intelligence among the Athenians so high; but it did unquestionably tend also to demoralizations that were ruinous in the end. The jury service, slightly paid, fell more and more to an unworthy class, made up of idlers or intriguers. Party feeling and popular passions gained an increasing influence over the juries, and demagogues acquired an increasing skill in making use of them.

Growth of faction and demagoguery

But these evils were scarcely more than in their seed during the great period of "Athenian Empire," as it is sometimes called, and every-

thing within its bounds was suffused with the shining splendor of that matchless half-century of time. The genius of this little Ionic state was stimulated to amazing achievements in every intellectual field. Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, within a single generation, crowded Athenian literature with the masterpieces of classic drama. Pheidias and his companions crowned the Acropolis and filled the city with works that have been the models in art for all ages since. Socrates began the quizzing which turned philosophy into honest truth-seeking paths, and Plato listened to him and was instructed for his mission. Thucydides watched events with sagacious young eyes, and prepared his pen for the chronicling of them; while Herodotus, pausing at Athens from his wide travels, matured the knowledge he had gathered up and perfected it for his final work. Over all of them came Pericles to preside and rule, not as a master, or "tyrant," but as leader, guide, patron, princely republican,—statesman and politician in one.

Brilliancy of the period

Dramatists

Artists

Philosophers

Historians

Pericles

Plutarch, *Pericles*

Evelyn Abbott, *Pericles*

The golden age of Athenian prosperity and power, both material and intellectual. The beginning of the end of it was reached a little before he died, when the long-threatened war between Athens and the Peloponnesian league, led by Sparta, broke out. If Athens had then possessed the good will of the cities of her own league, and if her citizens had retained their old sobriety and intelligence, she might have tri-

The Peloponnesian war. B. C. 431-404

umphed in the war; for she was all powerful at sea and fortified almost invincibly against attacks by land. But the subject states, called allies, were hostile, for the most part, and helped the enemy by their revolts, while the death of Pericles let loose on the people a swarm of demagogues who flattered and deluded them, and baffled the wiser and more honest, whose counsels and leadership might have given them success.

B. C. 429

The fatal folly of the long war was an expedition against the distant city of Syracuse (founded in Sicily, in the eighth century B. C., by Greek colonists from Corinth), into which the Athenians were enticed by the restless and unscrupulous ambition of Alcibiades. The entire force sent to Sicily perished there, and the strength and spirit of Athens were sapped by the fearful calamity. She maintained the war, however, until 404 B.C., when, having lost her fleet in the decisive battle of Ægospotami, and being blockaded by sea and land, the city was surrendered to the Spartan general Lysander. Her walls and fortifications were then destroyed and her democratic government was overthrown, giving place to an oligarchy known as the "thirty tyrants." The thirty tyrants were soon suppressed, and Athens, in time, rose somewhat from her deep humiliation, but never again to much political power in Greece. In intellect and cultivation, however, the superiority of the Attic state was maintained, and its greatest productions in philosophy and eloquence were yet to be given to the world.

Fatal expedition against Syracuse. B. C. 415-413

Fall of Athens. B. C. 404

The Persian Empire

Meantime, the Persian empire had been undergoing a rapid process of disorganization and decline. There was no strength of spirit in Xerxes to overcome the disastrous effect, on his subjects and on himself, of the shameful failure he had made in Greece. He sank into the character of the typical despot of the east, licentious, suspicious, murderous, malevolent, feared and hated in an equal degree. He was assassinated in 465 B. C. by the captain of his guard, who placed his youngest son, Artaxerxes I., on the throne. This prince, who had the weakness without the wickedness of his father, reigned forty years, during which the force of authority in government was lost. Others committed violences and crimes, if he did not, and the conditions of disorder and laxity increased. In the midst of his reign another collision with the Athenians was brought about by the latter, who gave help to an insurrection in Egypt, and who suffered there a serious defeat. But in the end the Persians were beaten so badly, in a great sea fight, off the Cyprian coast, that they accepted an inglorious peace, celebrated in the history of Athens as "the Peace of Cimon" or "the Peace of Callias," being sometimes named from Callias, the negotiator, and sometimes from Cimon, who commanded in the war.

Disorganization and decline

Renewed war with Athens. B. C. 455-449

The death of Artaxerxes I. in 425 B. C. was followed within a year by two changes on the throne produced by murder. Ochus, an illegitimate son

of Artaxerxes, who then secured it, taking the name of Darius Nothus, reigned twenty years. They were years of incessant disturbance in all parts of the weakened realm. Egypt regained its independence, and was ruled for half a century by a series of native kings. On the other hand, the fatal Peloponnesian war in Greece gave the Persian satraps in Asia Minor an opportunity to resubjugate the Greek cities of the Ionian coast.

Egypt regains independence B. C. 405

Darius Nothus died in 405 B. C., and was succeeded by his eldest son, Artaxerxes II. A younger son, Cyrus, who was satrap of Lydia, had expected to receive the crown, and determined to take it by force. He enlisted an army of Greek mercenaries, with which, in the spring of 401 B. C., he set forth from Sardis to march to Susa, his brother's capital. At Cunaxa, in Babylonia, he was surprised, defeated and slain. The Greeks lost their commander in the fight, and found themselves placed dangerously, in a hostile, strange country, with no leader and no object to pursue. With the Greek capacity for self-government, they chose a general from their ranks, the Athenian, Xenophon (who wrote several important books in after life), and under his leadership they made the long retreat—the famous "Retreat of the Ten Thousand"—from the lower Euphrates to the Euxine, thence to the Bosporus and to Greece, having found that the Persian empire was already a shell. In Greece, however, this discovery of Persian decay was not realized at once, and Sparta, then supreme, shut her gates

Greek mercenaries in Persia. B. C. 401

Retreat of the Ten Thousand

Xenophon, *Anabasis*

against the returning adventurers, through fear of offending the "Great King." They were driven to enter the service of a Thracian prince.

Such fears soon gave way, when the shrewd Greeks estimated the full significance of what Xenophon and his men had brought to light, and saw the hollowness of the fancied Persian power. Sparta became ashamed of having abandoned the Greek cities of Asia Minor to their old oppressors, as she did after breaking the strength of their protector, Athens, in the Peloponnesian war. When, therefore, the Persians began to lay siege to the coast cities which resisted them, Sparta interfered, with spirit enough to bring about a truce. This action provoked Artaxerxes, the Persian king, to assist a fugitive Athenian general, Conon, in preparing an armament against Sparta; whereupon the Spartans, led by one of their kings, Agesilaus, took the field in Ionia with a strong army and carried on two brilliant campaigns. For a time, Agesilaus of Sparta seemed likely to anticipate the overthrow of the Persian empire, which Alexander of Macedonia accomplished a little later; but, in the midst of his victories, he was called home to face a league which Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and some minor states had formed, to resist Spartan oppressions in Greece. For eight years then there was a renewal of war among the Greek states, Conon and his Persian allies assisting the league. The war was ended in 387 B. C., on terms substantially dictated by an edict of the Persian king.

Revelation of Persian decay

Spartan campaign in Asia Minor. B. C. 396-395

Greek states at war again. B. C. 395-387

Athens had her walls rebuilt and her independence restored; but the Ionian Greeks were given up to Persia once more, and the Greek states of the peninsula (except Athens) submitted again to the Spartan yoke.

Deliverance of Thebes. B. C. 379

But the Spartan domination was not far from its end. Thebes, set free by a daring stroke and led by a great statesman and soldier, Epaminondas, one of the purest and noblest patriots named in history, fought Sparta for eight years, until, in a momentous battle at Leuctra, the Lacedæmonian despotism was ended forever. An ascendancy in Greek affairs then passed to Thebes; but it lasted only till the death of Epaminondas.

B. C. 371

Epaminondas

Meantime, while the city-states of Hellas proper had been wounding and weakening one another by their jealousies and wars, the semi-Greek kingdom of Macedonia, to the north of them, in their own peninsula, had been acquiring their civilization and growing strong. And now there appeared upon its throne a very able king, Philip, who took advantage of their divisions, interfered in their affairs, and finally made a practical conquest of the whole peninsula, by his victory at the battle of Chæronea. At Athens, the great orator Demosthenes had exerted himself for years to rouse resistance to Philip. His eloquence failed then, but it has served the world immortally since, by delighting and instructing mankind.

Rise of Macedonia

B. C. 338

King Philip and Demosthenes

Plutarch, *Demosthenes*

King Philip of Macedonia was an extraordinary man, superior in capacity and strength of char-

acter to Alexander, his more famous son. The political adroitness with which he mastered the turbulent Greek states, and established Macedonia in a leadership which gave it much of the strength and prestige of Greece, has never been surpassed. His son received from him that legacy of power, for use in conquests beyond Greece; received from him, moreover, the remarkable generals he had picked and trained, the army he had organized, the invincible "phalanx" he had invented, and received them all prepared with direct reference to the very project of eastern conquest which he carried out. For Philip was making ready to invade the Persian empire when he was struck down by an assassin in his forty-seventh year.

Philip and his son Alexander

Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*

Conquests and Empire of Alexander

Alexander, mounting the throne of Macedonia on the death of his father, Philip, found barbarian neighbors on his northern frontier to chastise, and revolts in Greece to overcome, before he could take up his father's designs against the crumbling great empire in the east. Nearly two years were employed in crushing the enemies near at hand, which he did with ruthless energy, destroying Thebes completely and selling its inhabitants as slaves. Then, in the early spring of 334 B. C., leading an army of 30,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 cavalry, he crossed the Hellespont (the Dardanelles of modern geography), and entered the dominions of the Persian king. In his first encounter with Persian forces, at the small river

Destruction of Thebes

Invasion of Persian empire. B. C. 334

Granicus, they arrayed their troops badly; he confused them by clever tactics, and the result to them was a disastrous rout. After this victory, Alexander received the submission of most of the leading cities of Asia Minor, but met resistance at Miletus and Halicarnassus, the latter of which he razed to the ground. A Persian fleet, under a Greek commander, Memnon, gave him trouble, however, in the Ægean, threatening to cut him off from Europe and to encourage revolt in Greece. It was not until Memnon's death, in the spring of 333 B. C., that he felt safe in undertaking a further advance.

Grote, *History of Greece*, 11-12:ch. xcii-xciv

News reached him in the summer of that year that the Persian monarch, Darius Codomannus, or Darius III., had taken the field against him in person, and was moving from Babylon into Syria with an army of 400,000 men. Thereupon Alexander pushed forward through the passes of the Taurus range of mountains into Cilicia, and awaited the approach of Darius. The two armies came together in November, on the plain of Issus, near the head of the gulf of that name—the modern Gulf of Iskanderun. According to Greek writers there were more than half a million in the Persian host, and thirty thousand in the little army of the Greeks. Whatever the true count may have been, it is certain that the disparity in numbers was very great. But the mere Persian mass, badly generaled, counted for nothing against Greek discipline and valor, handled with the fine military judgment of Alexander. Crash-

Battle of Issus. B. C. 333

ing through one wing, he disordered the whole, and the Persians trampled each other to death in the frenzy of their flight. Darius escaped, but his mother, wife, daughters and a young son were left in the hands of the victor, who treated them with a generosity that was astonishing to all who described it in that age of merciless war.

Capture of the family of Darius

Alexander assumed at once the title of King of Persia and Lord of Asia; but, before pursuing Darius into the heart of the vast empire he claimed, he spent a year in securing the remainder of its Mediterranean coast. Possession of the maritime cities of Phœnicia was an absolute necessity; for their navy had been his most dangerous enemy from the first. Unless he became its master he could not hold what he had won, or maintain his authority in Greece. Byblus and Sidon submitted to him, but Tyre would not, on the terms he proposed, and the obstinate city held out against his siege for seven months. When taken at last by storm, 30,000 of its people were sold into slavery, and a new population was brought into the town. Gaza, the Philistine city, was equally obstinate, and suffered a like fate, after a siege of two months. Jerusalem and all Palestine accepted the change of sovereign and suffered no harm. Egypt, into which he advanced, did the same.

Siege and capture of Tyre. B. C. 352

While in Egypt, Alexander designed and founded, at the mouth of the westernmost branch of the Nile, the notable city which bears his name to this day. From that task he marched west-

Alexander in Egypt. B. C. 332-331

ward, along the north African coast, into Cyrenaica (modern Barca), a state dominated by the flourishing city of Cyrene, which Greek colonists had founded about three hundred years before. Cyrene sent an embassy to meet him, with gifts and offers that were satisfactory, and his march was stopped. The western limit of his conquests had been reached. Before turning back to the Nile, he went two hundred miles into the desert, to visit a famous sanctuary and oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and received there the flattering assurance that he was a son of the god. From this time there seems to have been a growing desire in him for the honors of a demigod, which showed itself first in mere signs of expectation, and finally in positive claims.

Alexander's apotheosis

Early in the spring of 331 B. C., Alexander left Egypt and returned with his army to Tyre, whence, a few months later, he started eastward, through Syria and Mesopotamia, to find Darius and finish the fight for empire with that hapless king. Darius met him near the village of Gaugamela, not far from the ruins of Nineveh, and there, on the 1st of October, the final battle was fought, in a manner and with results that differed little from those displayed at Issus, two years before. The Persian host was even greater than at Issus, the panic-rout more frantic, the destruction more appalling. Darius escaped again and took refuge at Ecbatana, the Median capital, where he remained undisturbed until the following spring.

Battle of Gaugamela (Arbela). B. C. 331

Meanwhile Alexander was gathering the more important fruits of his victory and making them secure. The battle of Gaugamela (mistakenly named in old traditions from Arbela, which lay fifty miles distant from the battle ground) was one of the most decisive ever fought. It ended the Persian empire, and left little more for Alexander to do than to go over the ground it had occupied and lay his hand upon its parts. This, practically, was the work of the next four years. First he took possession of the great capital cities of the empire —Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadæ, finding enormous treasures in each and enriching his whole army with the spoils. Then he pursued Darius, who fled from Ecbatana, and who, when the flight became hopeless, was murdered by his own guards. This was in the summer of 330. The next three years were spent by Alexander in the provinces of Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Drangiana (northeastern Persia, Russian Turkestan and Afghanistan in the geography of the present day), settling new governments, overcoming some resistance,—serious nowhere but in Sogdiana (Bokhara),—and founding a number of colonies and cities, some of which, like that represented by modern Merv, have played important parts in history since.

End of the Persian empire

Murder of Darius. B. C. 330

Macedonian Greek colonies

In reality, the Macedonian had now subjugated the Persian empire throughout its full extent; but the claims of the Persian kings included a nominal lordship over one district in the valley of the Indus, and Alexander assumed the whole claim.

Alexander in India. B. C. 327-325

To enforce it, he fought his way through the tribes in the mountains east of Afghanistan. He found three kingdoms in the Punjab, but met resistance in only one, whose king, a noble prince named Porus, he defeated in one of the hardest fought battles of his whole career. From the Punjab he was eager to push on into remoter Indian regions, of which he heard tempting accounts; but his men held him back. They had won for him even more than the Persian empire, and he was compelled to be content.

Before quitting the Indus, Alexander passed down to its mouth, and sent a fleet from there to explore the way by sea to the Persian Gulf,—a trade route which does not seem to have been previously in use. Then he turned his march toward Susa, which he reached in the spring of 324 B. C. through such hardships of the march that half or more of his army perished on the way. A year later he proceeded to Babylon, and was reported to be engaged in preparations for the conquest of Arabia, but was stricken with a fever in the midst of them and died, after a brief illness, on the 13th of June, 323 B. C.

Death of Alexander at Babylon B. C. 323

What Alexander would have made of the vast empire he had torn from the Persian kings, had he lived, cannot be surmised. He had done almost nothing constructively in it when he died. He had done almost nothing to show that he had the ability of statesmanship, for moulding it into some unity that would last. Thus far he had been simply a conqueror, and, while his achievement in

DEATH OF ALEXANDER

From the painting by Karl von Piloty (1826-1886), now in the National Gallery, Berlin

that character was impressive in its huge proportions, the resistance he had encountered had been too weak for any test of surpassing powers. He had torn from the Persians an empire which went to pieces when he died. That seems to be all that we can reasonably credit to him in what he did. The greatness of the consequences that came from his overturning of western Asia, and flooding it with after-influences from Greece, furnishes no proper measure of his personal greatness as an actor in the production of the cause. There are many shining figures in history who are glorified by light reflected back from ultimate effects of their work, more than by any real splendor in the quality of the work itself. To some extent, at least, Alexander, called "the Great," is one of those.

Estimate of Alexander

Consequences from his conquests

As to the magnitude of the results that flowed from the Greek overthrow of Persian power, affecting the whole future history of the world, there is no possible dispute. It ended the First Era of Civilization and opened the Second. How it did so will appear in our story as we go on.

Opening of the Second Era of Civilization

The Successors of Alexander

In the circumstances of the empire of Alexander, its breaking was inevitable when he died. He left an infant son who was illegitimate; he had an illegitimate half-brother; and one of his two wives—an oriental princess—bore another son three months after his death. These were the possible male heirs to his throne. None of them

Mahaffy, *Story of Alexander's Empire*, ch. v.-vii.

commanded the allegiance of the Macedonian army, which was the repository of his purely military power, and none of the generals of the army was strong enough in kingly qualities to make himself its supreme chief. For a time there was a nominal regency agreed upon among the generals, but their rival ambitions and mutual jealousies broke it down, and the division of the empire between them was begun, with each one intriguing and fighting to enlarge his share. Most of the contestants and all of the kindred of Alexander perished in these struggles, which went on through forty years. The final outcome of the contest was (1) the establishment of one important kingdom or empire in Asia, by Seleucus Nicator, who had not been distinguished among the officers of Alexander, but who grasped the larger part of what Alexander left; (2) a new kingdom of Egypt, founded by one of the ablest of the Alexandrian commanders, Ptolemy Soter; (3) the settling of a new dynasty on the throne of the original Macedonian kingdom, in northern Greece; and (4) the outcropping of a number of lesser kingdoms in Asia Minor and beyond it, some of which grew to a transient importance in later times.

Dividing the empire

The final outcome

Until about the middle of the long contest, the prospects of Seleucus seemed small compared with those of another among the Macedonian generals, Antigonus by name, who overtopped all his competitors in power. In the first partitioning of the broken empire, Antigonus had received

Antigonus

only a few provinces in Asia Minor; but he extended his authority, in the course of twenty years, until he aspired to the supreme sovereignty which Alexander had possessed. He was the first of the contestants (whom the Greeks called the "Diadochi" or "Successors" of Alexander) who assumed the title of king. Another who figured conspicuously for years in the struggle was Lysimachus, whose original portion of the spoils of empire was Thrace, embracing the region between Macedonia, the Danube and the Black Sea. He, too, widened his dominions, until all the rich states in the west of Asia Minor came under his rule. Lysimachus and Seleucus (then established in a somewhat uncertain kingship at Babylon) united their forces against Antigonus and defeated and slew him in a great battle fought at Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B. C. They then divided the dominions of Antigonus between themselves, Lysimachus taking most of Asia Minor and Seleucus all the provinces of the east. This division was maintained for a score of years, until Lysimachus provoked an attack from his old ally, Seleucus, and, in his turn, suffered overthrow and death.

The Diadochi

Lysimachus

Battle of Ipsus. B. C. 301

Seleucus was now the sole great monarch in western Asia. Nominally he had recovered the Asiatic sovereignty of Alexander, from the Hellespont to the Indus; but the region of real strength in his government seems to have embraced Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, parts of Persia and parts of Asia Minor. All along the

The monarchy of Seleucus

northern border of Alexander's conquest there had been principalities established, some by Greek adventurers and some by Persian grandees, which acknowledged very little subjection to Seleucus or his successor, and were soon petty kingdoms, pursuing independent careers. Such were Bithynia, Pergamum, Pontus, Armenia, Media Atropatene, Parthia (which corresponded very nearly to the modern Persian province of Khorasan), and Bactria. Nevertheless the Seleucid empire—sometimes called the Syrian monarchy—was a substantial and great power in the eastern world, of immense historical influence, throughout the third century before Christ. Its founder, Seleucus Nicator, resigned the throne to his son, Antiochus, soon after he had overthrown Lysimachus, and went into Macedonia, to end his days in his native land. He was murdered there in the following year.

Minor principalities and kingdoms

The Macedonian or Greek kingdom in Egypt was founded more quietly and more securely by Ptolemy Soter, a singularly prudent as well as an able prince. Ptolemy was not carried away by the lust of dominion which ruined most of his rivals. Egypt contented him, and he added to the ancient kingdom only Cyrenaica, at the west, and Palestine, at the east. In the strifes that raged around him, among the Diadochi, he took little more part than was necessary for his own defense. As a consequence, he transmitted to his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, a very solidly constructed kingdom, which that monarch

The Egyptian kingdom of the Ptolemies

raised to preëminence in splendor and wealth.

Greece suffered sorely in the conflicts of the Diadochi, who strove to keep each other from controlling the Macedonian sovereignty in its original seat. That sovereignty was won finally by a grandson of Antigonus, whose descendants, known as Antigonid kings, held the throne of Macedonia till the Romans swept their kingdom away. Before the founder of the dynasty had established himself securely, the old kingdom of Philip and Alexander came near to being engulfed in the conquests of a nearer neighbor than Rome. In the country called Epirus, lying west of Macedonia, on the border of the Ionian Sea, a new monarchy had been rising, which produced at this time a very ambitious but erratic king, named Pyrrhus, who proved to be one of the ablest soldiers of his age. Pyrrhus won possession of the Macedonian crown in 274 B. C., and held it for two years, at the end of which time he was killed while invading the Peloponnesian states. The Antigonid authority was then restored in Macedonia and generally over Greece.

Macedonia under the Antigonid kings. B.C. 272-168

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. B.C. 318(?) 272

Throughout the long period of struggle Athens suffered most. As soon as Alexander's death was known, she formed a league of Greek states and made a vain effort to break the Macedonian yoke. The Athenian free spirit may be said to have expired in that effort. Its last great witness and interpreter, Demosthenes, who had never ceased to inspire resistance to the Macedonians, died by his own hand to escape an ignominious execution.

Athens under the Macedonian yoke

Death of Demosthenes. B. C. 322

Servility to one master after another became the habit of Athens and the general habit of Greece. Greek society everywhere was corrupted by the enormous spoils of Asiatic conquest that flowed into the land. The age of Greek greatness in Greece proper had come to its end. Henceforth the radiant genius of the Hellenic race was to brighten and enlighten the world from Asiatic and Egyptian cities, more than from Attic hills.

End of Greek greatness in Greece

Much as the Athenian, the Corinthian, the Spartan, and the Theban might scorn and hate the masterful Macedonian, whose kinship to themselves they would hardly acknowledge, they were quick enough to follow him into the wide new fields of opportunity that his arms had opened up. All the centers of active life in Egypt and most parts of western Asia were Hellenized in the century that followed the death of Alexander. In the history of the ancient world there was never another such time of new city creation as then. Alexander had begun it, planting colonies and the germs of cities, in the old Greek fashion, wherever he went. Seleucus, his final chief successor in Asia, and Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, did even more. The new cities were all Greek cities, essentially, in character, culture, and spirit, propagating influences which their older neighbors, even in the close communion of the Jews, could not resist. Preëminent among them were Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt, the latter especially becoming the central seat of Greek influence, acting upon and moulding the

The Hellenizing of western Asia and Egypt

Greek cities in the oriental world

results of a great revolution and reorganization of conditions in the Mediterranean world.

For the first time in the long history of Egypt, the commercial opportunities of that country were developed by the shrewd Ptolemy Soter and his son. They opened a canal, which one of the pharaohs had attempted to build, from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean (ancient precursor of the modern Suez Canal); cleared the Red Sea of pirates; sent trading fleets to Arabia, Ethiopia, and India, and set in motion streams of commerce which flowed through their new city of Alexandria and poured unexampled wealth into its lap. Then, with rare enlightenment of mind, they converted that wealth into a source of culture, civilization, refinement of life. By founding the great Alexandrian university, with its splendid museum and unequaled library, they drew the pick of the scholarship and talent of the age to their city, and made it the successor to Athens as a seat of science, literature and art.

Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, ch. ii-v.

Alexandria, the seat of culture

In this new development, on an expanded field, of the unique powers and qualities of the Greek mind, it took on a new character and produced fruits of a new kind. In letters, arts and philosophy, it bore no fruits like those of the past, but it yielded something that was especially needed in the world at that time. It gave, in the wide circle of its influence, a freer, fuller, more rationalized tendency and tone to all feeling and thought. It diffused, so to speak, a rationalized atmosphere of mind, in which the mankind of that rim of su-

Greek intellectual influence

perior civilization that surrounded the eastern Mediterranean began to see all things in a larger and more distinct way. In doing so it prepared conditions for, first the Romanizing, and then the Christianizing, of the Mediterranean world. It is difficult to believe that the potent forces in Greek culture would have reached, through the Romans, into the modern life of Europe as they did, if they had not wrought their first effects in the dominions of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. It is still harder to see how Christianity could have had its planting, without the preparation which Greek thought had made for it, even in Jewish minds, like that of St. Paul.

Preparation for Christianity

At the same time, the religious conceptions of the Greeks were affected by their intimate association with the Jews. For it was now, as a consequence of the changed conditions in the Levant, that the Jewish dispersion—the "diaspora"—became a movement of wide range. Inviting opportunities in other lands than Judea or Babylonia were opened to the Jews for the first time. The Ptolemies, whose rule over Palestine was one of the happy periods in Jewish history, encouraged them to settle in Egypt and Cyrenaica, especially at Alexandria, into which rising city they gathered in numbers that were reckoned finally at two-fifths of its whole population. Seleucus and Antiochus gave them almost equal welcome in Syria and Asia Minor. Then, as in modern times, they showed a rare ability to make the most of their opportunities, especially in

The Jewish diaspora

trade, and they soon became an important element in the Hellenic world. Naturally, their noble literature and their monotheistic religious ideas drew the attention of thoughtful Greeks, and a Greek version of their Scriptures—the version known as the Septuagint—was begun at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by order of that king. Thus, by the same operation of events, the two influences, Hellenic and Hebraic, were brought into action together and subtly mixed, in that wonderful nursery of civilization, the border lands of the Mediterranean Sea.

Hellenic and Hebraic ideas brought together

Considered from all sides, there are few events in history that show consequences so momentous as those which came from the overthrow of the Persian empire, and from the circumstances that followed it in that part of the world.

India

Those consequences did not extend to the "Farther East" of that day. In India, the conquests of Alexander were held by none of his generals, though Seleucus Nicator included them in his claims. While Seleucus was struggling with his rivals in the west, an Indian adventurer, Chandra Gupta (called Sandrokottos by the Greeks), rose to power in the basin of the Ganges, founding the kingdom of Magadha, with its capital at Pataliputra, the Patna of the present day. Seleucus and Chandra Gupta came to terms, and the claims of the former in the region of the Indus were given up. Relations between

Chandra Gupta's kingdom of Magadha

them were so friendly that the Syrian monarch bestowed his daughter on the Indian king, and kept an ambassador in residence at Pataliputra from about 306 until 298 B. C. Subsequently this ambassador wrote a work on India, which has been lost; but the substance of some parts of it, found in other Greek writings, furnish the only direct and authentic account of that interesting country and people that we have from so early a day.

King Asoka B. C. 263-226

Asoka, grandson of Chandra Gupta, who reigned over Magadha from 263 till 226 B. C., and who gave a wider extent to its bounds, became a convert to Buddhism, and established it as the religion of the state. "The Buddhism of southern Asia," says Sir William Wilson Hunter, "practically dates from Asoka's Council [which he caused to be held in 244 B. C., for the purpose of determining the true doctrines of the Buddha]. In a number of edicts, both before and after that Council, he published throughout his empire the grand principles of the faith. Forty of these royal sermons are still found graven upon pillars, caves and rocks throughout India. Asoka also founded a state department, with a minister of justice and religion at its head, to watch over the purity and

Spread of Buddhism

to direct the spread of the faith. . . . Asoka thought it his duty to convert all mankind to Buddhism. His rock inscriptions record how he sent forth missionaries 'to the utmost limits of the barbarian countries.' . . . He collected the Buddhist sacred books into an authoritative ver-

sion, in the Magadhi language of his central kingdom in Behar,—a version which for two thousand years has formed the southern canon of the Buddhist Scriptures."

Hunter, *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 79

But, while Asoka gave Buddhism an ascendancy in India, which it maintained in parts of the country for a long period, Brahmanism was never crushed. The two religions existed side by side for centuries, until modern Hinduism was evolved out of both, though more from the old religion than the new. The Brahmans annexed the Buddha, we may say, to their own polytheism, by adopting him as an incarnation of Vishnu, their most popular god. Partly by such means of slow absorption, and partly by some final persecutions, Buddhism was extinguished in its native country, at last, as a distinct creed. But the seed planted by its missionaries in every other part of eastern Asia, from Ceylon to Manchuria, had taken such root that no less than forty per cent. of the inhabitants of the world are disciples of the Buddha to-day.

Evolution of modern Hinduism

Throughout the period of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, the Greeks had considerable intercourse with India; but after that time it declined, and the Greek influences that were beginning to act on the country faded out. The Greek kings of Bactria attempted conquests in the Punjab, which had no permanent result. Then the Bactrian kingdom was overthrown by invading hordes of the people whom the Greeks called Scythians (probably the Huns or Mongols of later

Obscure period of Indian history

history), from Central Asia, and the same invaders pressed on into the Punjab, founding extensive kingdoms in northern India, embracing Buddhism, giving a change to its character, and producing an important racial mixture in the population of Hindustan. In this time and after it, for several centuries, the history of India is obscure.

China

It was in this period that the great wall of China was built, on the northeastern frontier of the empire, as a means of defense against those wild nomads who emerged so often from the Mongolian desert and its borders, and who appear in history under differing names, as Huns, Mongols, Tatars or Tartars, and Turks. The tribes which troubled the Chinese in the third century B. C. were known to them as the Hiongnou, and are supposed to have been identical with the Huns who terrified Europe at a much later time. The wall, which proved to be an ineffective defense, was built by the emperor Chi Hwangti of the Tsin dynasty, who reigned from about B. C. 246 till 209. It is evident that Chi Hwangti was a ruler of great energy and ability, who did China a good service in breaking down a feudalistic system of provincial government that was growing up; but the tyranny of his methods gave him an evil name in the annals of the Chinese. Encountering opposition to his measures from the literati, or learned class, who venerated the past,

Struggling with the Huns

Chi Hwangti, B. C. 246-209

clung to precedent and ancient prescription, and wanted nothing changed, he was provoked, at last, to attempt a destruction of all records of the past and all books, except those containing practical knowledge, of medicine, agriculture, and the like. According to his enemies, he hoped by this barbarous destruction to make himself appear in the future as the founder and first sovereign of the empire. Fortunately he was not able to extinguish the ancient literature of his country, but it seems to have suffered a very serious mutilation at his hands.

Attempted destruction of records and books

The Roman Republic

When Alexander led the Greeks into Asia, and began the conquests which gave them a dominating influence in the civilized world, the Romans had just mastered their nearest neighbors in central Italy, and made themselves ready for action on a larger field.

At this time the finally complete democratic constitution of the Roman republic had nearly been attained. From their success in B. C. 494, when the powerful magistracy of the Tribunes of the Plebs was secured by their first "secession," the people of the plebeian order went forward, step by step, to the attainment of equal political rights in the commonwealth, and equal participation in the lands which Roman conquest was adding continually to the public domain. In 450 B. C., after ten years of struggle, they secured the appointment of a commission which framed the

(See page 176-177)

Taylor, *Constitutional and Political History of Rome*, ch. iii-v.

The Twelve Tables of the Law. B. C. 450

famous Twelve Tables of Law, and so established a written and certain code. Five years later, the caste exclusiveness of the patricians was broken down by a law which permitted marriages between the orders. In 367 B. C. the patrician monoply of the consular office was extinguished,

Licinian Laws. B. C. 367

by the notable Licinian Laws, which also limited the extent of land that any citizen might occupy, and forbade the exclusive employment of slave labor on any estate. One by one, after that, other magistracies were opened to the plebs; and

Lex Hortensia. B. C. 287

in 287 B. C. by the Lex Hortensia, the plebeian concilium, or assembly, was made independent of the senate and its acts declared to be valid and binding. The democratic commonwealth was now complete.

While these changes in the constitution of their republic were in progress, the Romans had been making great advances toward supremacy in the peninsula. First they had been in league with their Latin neighbors, for war with the Æquians, the Volscians, and the Etruscans. The Volscian war extended over forty years, and ended about 450 B. C. in the practical disappearance of the Volscians from history. Of war with the Æquians, nothing is heard after 458 B. C., when, as the tale is told, Cincinnatus left his plow to lead the

Cincinnatus

Romans against them. The war with the Etruscans of the near city of Veii had been more stubborn. Suspended by a truce between 474 and 438 B. C., it was then renewed, and ended in 396 B. C., when the Etruscan city was taken and

destroyed. At the same time the power of the Etruscans was shattered at sea by the Greeks of Tarentum and Syracuse, while at home they were attacked from the north by the barbarous Gauls or Celts. War with Etruscans

These last named people, having crossed the Alps from Gaul and Switzerland and occupied northern Italy, were now pressing upon the more civilized nations to the south of the Po. The Etruscans were first to suffer, and their despair became so great that they appealed to Rome for help. The Romans gave little aid to them in their extremity; but enough to provoke the wrath of Brennus, the savage leader of the Gauls. He quitted Etruria and marched to Rome, defeating an army which opposed him on the Allia, pillaging and burning the city and slaying the senators, who had refused to take refuge, with other inhabitants, in the capitol. The defenders of the capitol held it for seven months, until the Gauls withdrew. Appearance of the Gauls

The Gauls in Rome. B. C. 390

We are now beginning, it will be seen, to obtain, from Greek and Roman annals, some historic glimpses of other European peoples, dwelling in the northward regions of the continent, outside of the limits of the small Mediterranean peninsulas. Those known as Gauls have their place in the division called Celtic of peoples classified by Aryan relationships of speech. They and their Celtic kindred—kindred in language if not otherwise—had probably been in possession of the larger part of southwestern Europe—south and Gauls-Celts

west of the Rhine and north and west of the Alps —for a long period before they crossed the mountains into Italy and came into collision with the Romans; but that is prehistoric surmise. Their history dates from their contact with the record-writing Romans and Greeks. After crossing the Alps they remained in northern Italy, to which the Romans, in consequence, gave the name of Cisalpine Gaul,—that is, Gaul on the hither side of the Alps,—while the France and Belgium of our modern geography were called Transalpine Gaul, meaning Gaul on the further side of the Alps. In the century after their entrance into Italy they invaded Macedonia and northern Greece, where they committed dreadful ravages in two successive years, penetrating to Delphi, but meeting there with a destructive repulse. One body of the invading host passed into Asia Minor and became settled in a Phrygian district to which they gave the name Galatia.

Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul

The Gauls in Greece. B. C. 280-279

Rome was rebuilt when the Gauls withdrew, and soon took up her war again with the Etruscan cities. By the middle of the same century she was mistress of southern Etruria, though her territories had been ravaged twice again by renewed incursions of the Gauls. In a few years more, when her allies of Latium complained of their meager share of the fruits of these common wars, and demanded Roman citizenship and equal rights, she fought them fiercely and humbled them to submissiveness, reducing their cities to the status of provincial towns.

Roman subjugation of Latin allies B. C. 339-338

And now, having awed or subdued her rivals, her friends and her enemies, near at hand, the young republic swung into the career of rapid conquest which subdued to her will, within three fourths of a century, the whole of Italy below the mouth of the river Arno.

Wars with the Samnites. B.C. 343-290

In 343 B. C. the Roman arms had been turned against the Samnites at the south, and they had been driven from the Campania. In 327 B. C. the same dangerous rivals were again assailed, with less impunity. At the Caudine Forks, the Samnites inflicted both disaster and shame upon their indomitable foes; but the end of the war found Rome advanced and Samnium fallen back. A third contest ended the question of supremacy; but the Samnites submitted to become allies and not subjects of the Roman state.

In this last struggle the Samnites had summoned Gauls and Etruscans to join them against the common enemy, and Rome had overcome their united forces in a great fight at Sentinum. Ten years later she annihilated the Senonian Gauls, annexed their territory, and planted a colony at Sena on the coast. In two years more she had paralyzed the Boian Gauls by a terrible chastisement, and had nothing more to fear from the northward side of her realm. Then she turned back to finish her work in the south.

Senonian and Boian Gauls. B. C. 295-285

The Greek cities of the southern coast were harassed by various marauding neighbors, and most of them solicited the protection of Rome, which involved, of course, some surrender of their

independence. But one great city, Tarentum, the most powerful of their number, refused these terms, and hazarded a war with the terrible republic, expecting support from the ambitious Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, on the Greek coast opposite their own. Pyrrhus came readily at their call, with dreams of an Italian kingdom more agreeable than his own. Assisted in the undertaking from Macedonia and Syria, he brought an army of 25,000 men, with twenty elephants—which Roman eyes had never seen before. In two bloody fights Pyrrhus was victorious; but the cost of victory was so great that he dared not follow it up. He went over to Sicily, instead, and waged war for three years with the Carthaginians, who had subjugated most of the island. The Epirot king brought timely aid to the Sicilian Greeks, and drove their Punic enemies into the western border of the island; but he claimed sovereignty over all that his arms delivered, and was not successful in enforcing the claim. He returned to Italy and found the Romans better prepared than before to face his phalanx and his elephants. They routed him at Beneventum, and he went back to Epirus, with his dreams dispelled. Tarentum fell, and southern Italy was added to the dominion of Rome.

(See page 227)

Roman war with Pyrrhus. B. C. 280-275

Pyrrhus in Sicily. B.C. 278-276

Roman subjugation of southern Italy

During her war with Pyrrhus, the republic had formed an alliance with Carthage, the powerful maritime Phœnician city on the African coast. But friendship between these two cities was im-

possible. The ambition of both was too boundless and too fierce.

Rome and Carthage.

Until the Romans, in their conquests, reached the southern extremity of Italy, they had no quarrel with Carthage, for they had undertaken nothing beyond the shore of the sea. Down to that time the contests of the Carthaginians were with the Greeks, who had lodged themselves strongly in the island of Sicily and on the coast of southern Italy, and were the only competitors in western maritime trade that Carthage had to fear. Had the Sicilian Greeks been united, they might have offered a front which no enemy could attack with impunity; for several of their cities had grown to great wealth and power. Syracuse, at the head of them, was hardly outranked by another Hellenic city of the age. But the several bands of colonists from different states in Greece who founded these cities carried with them and perpetuated in Sicily the jealousies and feuds of the mother land. They not only fought, city with city, but recklessly called in outside enemies to help them pull each other down. It was a call of that kind which drew the Athenians into their fatal expedition against Syracuse during the Peloponnesian war. With greater madness, Sicilian Greeks enlisted the Carthaginians repeatedly in their domestic wars. This alone kept a footing for the latter in Sicily, and probably prevented the rising in that island and in southern Italy of a Greek power that might have dominated the western Mediterranean and its shores. As it was,

Polybius, *Histories*, bk. I.

Greeks and Carthaginians in Sicily

Syracuse

(See page 212)

when the Romans had carried their victorious arms to the narrow strait which parts Sicily from Italy, there could be but one question concerning the destiny of the island, and that was whether its masters should be at Carthage or at Rome.

Rome threw down the challenge to her rival in 264 B. C., when she sent help to the Mamertines, a band of brigands who had seized the Sicilian city of Messina, and who were attacked by both Carthaginians and Syracusan Greeks. The first Punic war, then begun, lasted twenty-four years, and resulted in the withdrawal of the Carthaginians from Sicily, and in their payment of an enormous war indemnity to Rome. The latter assumed a protectorate over the island, and the kingdom of Hiero of Syracuse preserved its nominal independence for the time; but Sicily, as a matter of fact, might already be looked upon as the first of those provinces, beyond Italy, which Rome bound to herself, one by one, until she had compassed the Mediterranean with her dominion and gathered to it all the islands of that sea.

The First Punic war. B. C. 264-240

Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk.3, ch. i-vi

The Second Punic war. B. C. 218-202

The second Punic war, called sometimes the Hannibalic war, was fought with a great Carthaginian, rather than with Carthage herself. Hamilcar Barca had been the last and ablest of the Punic generals in the contest for Sicily. Afterward he undertook the conquest of Spain, where his arms had such success that he established a very considerable power, more than half independent of the parent state. He nursed an unquenchable hatred of Rome, and transmitted

it to his son Hannibal, who solemnly dedicated his life to warfare with the Latin city. Hannibal

Hamilcar died, and in due time Hannibal found himself prepared to make good his oath. He provoked a declaration of war by attacking Saguntum, on the eastern Spanish coast—a town which the Romans "protected." The latter expected to encounter him in Spain; but before the fleet bearing their legions to that country had reached Massilia, he had passed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, with nearly 100,000 men, and was crossing the Alps, to assail his astounded foes on their own soil. The terrific barrier was surmounted with such suffering and loss that only 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse, of the great army which left Spain, could be mustered for the clearing of the last Alpine pass. With this small following, by sheer energy, rapidity and precision of movement —by force, in other words, of a military genius hardly surpassed in the world—he defeated the armies of Rome again and again, and so crushingly in the awful battle of Cannæ that the proud republic was staggered, but never despaired.

Hannibal in Italy

Polybius, *Histories*, bk. 3.

Battle of Cannæ. B. C. 216

For fifteen years the great Carthaginian held his ground in southern Italy; but his expectation of being joined by discontented subjects of Rome in the peninsula was realized but slightly, and his own country gave him little encouragement or help. His brother Hasdrubal, marching to his relief, was defeated on the river Metaurus and slain. The arms of Rome had prospered meantime in Sicily and in Spain, even while beaten at

Battle of the Metaurus. B. C. 207

home, and her Punic rival had been driven from both. In 204 B. C. the final field of battle was shifted to Carthaginian territory by Scipio, of famous memory, thereafter styled Africanus, because he "carried the war into Africa." Hannibal abandoned Italy to confront him; at Zama the long contention ended, and the career of Carthage as a power in the ancient world was closed forever. Existing by Roman sufferance for another half century, she then gave her implacable conquerors another pretext for war, and they ruthlessly destroyed her.

Scipio Africanus

Battle of Zama. B. C. 202

Destruction of Carthage. B. C. 146

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE AGE OF HANNIBAL TO THE DEATH OF CÆSAR

(B. C. 200 to 44)

Eastward conquests of Rome: Roman subjugation of Greece.—Defeat of the Syrian king Antiochus. *The Syrian monarchy and the Jews:* Oppression of the Jews.—Revolt of the Maccabees.—Rise of the Asmonean monarchy. *The Zenith and the Decline of the Roman Republic:* Evil effects of the Roman conquests on the character of the Republic.—Rise of a new aristocracy.—Mischievous features of the democratic system.—Increasing use of slave labor.—Aristocratic monopoly of public lands.—Agrarian agitations.—Fate of the Gracchi.—The Jugurthine War.—Destruction of Carthage.—Popularity and power of Marius, the successful soldier.—Optimates and populares.—The Social War.—Rivalry of Marius and Sulla.—Civil War.—Triumph of Sulla.—His dictatorship and retirement.—Intrigues and struggles in the next generation.—The great game played by Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar.—Pompey in the East.—His suppression of the Syrian and Asmonean monarchies.—Cæsar's conquest of Gaul.—Civil war between partisans of Cæsar and Pompey.—Triumph of Cæsar.—His supremacy.—His assassination.—His great place in history. *China:* The Han dynasty.

The expansion of the dominion of Rome till it circumscribed the Mediterranean and stretched in Europe to contact with the lands of the Teutonic peoples; the decay and fall of its republican institutions of government; the founding of its imperial system; the preparation, in fact, of the field and the conditions of Roman influence on all future history,—this is the sum of chief events in the period to which the present chapter relates. The period

Eastward Progress of Roman Conquest

After the overthrow of Hannibal, the next achievement of the Romans was the subjugation of Greece. For a time, in the preceding century, the better Greeks had hopes of deliverance from

the servile and oppressed condition into which their unhappy country had sunk. Such hopes were raised by the confederating of several of the Peloponnesian states in what took the name of the Achaian League. Sparta, alone, in Peloponnesus, always jealous and selfish, became hostile to the league, as the latter grew strong enough to expel Macedonian garrisons from city after city, —even from Athens, which became an ally, but not a member, of the league. Unfortunately Sparta had a king, Cleomenes, who was an able soldier, while the patriot and statesman, Aratos, who was the founder and soul of the Achaian League, was wanting in capacity for war. When, at last, Sparta attacked the league, the latter suffered such defeats that its leaders were driven to despair. In their extremity they abandoned the whole object of their confederation by soliciting help from the Macedonian king. With that help they overthrew Cleomenes in battle at Sellasia, crushing Sparta, but bowing all Greece again under the Macedonian yoke. It was soon after this event that the Romans appeared.

The Achaian League in Greece

Plutarch, *Aratos*

Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, ch. lxi-lxii

Battle of Sellasia. B. C. 221

The first war of the Romans on the Greek side of the Ionian Sea took place during the second Punic war, caused by an alliance formed between Hannibal and King Philip of Macedonia. They pursued it then no further than to frustrate Philip's designs against themselves; but they formed alliances with the Greek states oppressed or menaced by the Macedonian, and these drew them into a second war, which they entered pro-

Macedonian wars of Rome. B.C. 214-197

fessedly as the liberators of Greece, just as the century closed. On Cynoscephalæ, Philip was overthrown, his kingdom reduced to vassalage, and the freedom of all Greece was proclaimed solemnly by the Roman consul Flamininus.

And now, for the first time, Rome came into conflict with an Asiatic power. Before describing the conflict it will be necessary to narrate a little of what happened in western Asia and Egypt, while the Romans were engaged in their Punic wars.

Syria, Egypt, and Palestine

The Seleucid monarchy

The Seleucid or Syrian monarchy reached the end of its prosperity when Antiochus Soter, its second king, died in 252 B. C. His successors, during a period of about twenty-eight years, were debauched and degenerate despots, who lost most of their inherited dominions in war with Egypt, or in consequence of family wars. Ptolemy Euergetes, the third of the Greek-Egyptian kings, became master at one time of nearly their whole realm; but the Egyptian monarchy, like that of Syria, was a decaying one, and the conquests of Euergetes were not held. In 224 B. C. another Antiochus came to the Syrian throne, who turned the tide of fortune, and recovered, temporarily, a considerable part of what his father and his uncle had lost. He was a prince of some capacity, but more ambition and pretension, and the sounding title of Antiochus the Great, which flattery gave him, was hardly warranted by his deeds. He failed in a prolonged effort to drive the

Antiochus "theGreat" B. C. 224-187

rising Parthian nation from territory it had seized in northern Persia; but parts of Asia Minor that had slipped from his kingdom were brought back. In one war with Egypt he experienced defeat; but he was the victor in a second one, and took Palestine as a long coveted prize. This transfer of their country from the Ptolemies to the Seleucidæ was a heavy calamity to the Jews.

Palestine under the Seleucidæ. B. C. 201

Flushed with his triumph over the Egyptians, and by some new successes in Asia Minor, the vainglorious Antiochus the Great became ambitious at length to expel the Romans from Greece. Encouraged in that ambition by some of the Greeks, and having Hannibal, then a fugitive at his court, to give him counsel, which he lacked the intelligence to use, Antiochus crossed the Hellespont and took possession of the famous pass of Thermopylæ. The Romans attacked him there, drove him back to the shores from which he came, pursued him thither, crushed him utterly in a great battle on the field of Magnesia, and then took the kingdoms and cities of Asia Minor under their protection, as allies (soon to be subjects) of Rome. Four years later Antiochus ended his career. His diminished kingdom was ruled for twelve years by an elder son, and then passed to a younger one, Antiochus IV., called Epiphanes, who bears in Jewish history the most hated of names. He was a vigorous prince, who reënlarged the Syrian monarchy, and who was only prevented by Roman intervention from adding Egypt to it; but his energies were despotic

Antiochus and the Romans

Battle of Magnesia. B. C. 191

Antiochus Epiphanes

and malignant, and none suffered from them so much as the Jews.

It can hardly be said that the Jewish suffering was undeserved, for the Judean community had fallen into a deeply corrupted state. The high priests of its temple had become secular princes, given up to political ambitions, immersed in unscrupulous intrigues, stained with crimes, showing no signs of a religious spirit or purpose in what they did. The people, as a whole, were scarcely more faithful to their religion, beyond its forms, than the ruling priests. But they cherished the temple and were jealous guardians of the rich treasures it held. When, therefore, a claimant of the high priesthood, who had bought the sacred office from Antiochus IV., robbed the temple to make his payment for it, they rose in a furious insurrection, which provoked the wrath of the king. Jerusalem then suffered a terrible chastisement, but not sufficient to satisfy the implacable despot who held its fate in his hands. He resolved to extinguish the Hebraic religion, and so destroy the bond which made one people of the Jews, wherever they dwelt. In carrying out that project, Jerusalem, in 168 B. C., was sacked and partly burned, a vast number of its inhabitants were slain, 10,000 of them were sold into slavery, the temple was plundered and polluted by the introduction of pagan rites, and the Jews, there and in all the king's dominions, were required, on pain of death, to adore publicly the false gods.

State of the Jews

J. Welhausen, *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah*, ch. xi-xii

Revolt and chastisement

For two years there was either submission to the oppressive edict, or suffering of persecution, or else escape from it into Egypt and into the neighboring deserts and hills. Then an outbreak of revolt was begun, in the smallest possible way, by a priest named Mattathias, and his five sons. Joined by others, these became the chiefs of a band which went through the country destroying the pagan altars and rousing the people to defend their faith. Mattathias soon died, and his leadership passed to one of his sons, Judas, who acquired the surname of Makkabi, or Maccabæus, by which he is known. Under Judas Maccabæus the revolt became formidable, and extorted a treaty which restored religious freedom to the Jews; but the Syrians appointed a high priest who was obnoxious to Judas and his party, and the revolt was renewed. Judas fell in battle the next year and his party was broken up; but Jonathan, his brother, revived it later and made it useful to himself.

Revolt of the Maccabees. B. C. 166-161

Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, bk. 12

There were two claimants of the Syrian crown, and Jonathan sold his support to one of them, who became the winner, and who made him high priest and governor of Judea. The same double dignity was attained some years afterward by Simon, another of the brothers, who received it from an assembly of the people; for the Syrian authority had then waned to such a degree that Judea was almost an independent state. From that time the princely high priesthood was hereditary in the possession of the Asmoneans, or Has-

moneans, as the family was named, and Simon's grandson assumed the crown and title of king, calling himself Aristobulus, instead of Judas, which was his Jewish name.

The Hasmoneans

B. C. 105

Affairs at Rome

Before these things came about, the subjection of Greece to Rome had been made complete. For twenty years after the overthrow of Antiochus III. at Magnesia, there was little change in the outward situation of affairs among the Greeks. But discontent with the harshness and haughtiness of Roman "protection" changed from sullenness to heat, and Perseus, son of Philip of Macedonia, fanned it steadily, with the hope of bringing it to a flame. Rome watched him with keen vigilance, and before his plans were ripe her legions were upon him. He battled with them obstinately for three years, but his fate was sealed at Pydna. He went as a prisoner to Rome; his kingdom was broken into four small republics; the Achaian League was stricken by the captivity of a thousand of its chief men; the whole of Greece was humbled to submissiveness, though not yet formally reduced to the state of a Roman province. That followed a few years later, when risings in Macedonia and Achaia were punished by the extinction of the last semblance of political independence in both.

Complete subjugation of Greece. B. C. 171-168

B. C. 148-146

Rome now gripped the Mediterranean (the ocean of the then civilized world) as with five fingers of a powerful hand: one laid on Italy and all its islands, one on Macedonia and Greece, one

on Carthage, one on Spain, and the little finger of her "protection" reaching over to the Lesser Asia. Little more than half a century, since the day that Hannibal threatened her own city gates, had sufficed to win this vast dominion. But the losses of the republic had been greater, after all, than the gains; for the best energies of its political constitution had been expended in the acquisition, and the nobler qualities in its character had been touched with the incurable taints of a licentious prosperity.

The zenith of the Roman republic

Beginning of its decline

In theory and in form, the Roman constitution remained as democratic as it was made by the Licinian Laws, and by the finishing touch of the Hortensian Law. But in practical working it had reverted to the aristocratic mode. A new aristocracy had risen out of the plebeian ranks to reinforce the old patrician order. It was composed of the families of men who had been raised to distinction and ennobled by the holding of eminent offices, and its spirit was no less jealous and exclusive than that of the older high caste.

(See page 236)

The new aristocracy

Thus strengthened, the aristocracy had recovered its ascendancy in Rome, and the senate, which it controlled, had become the supreme power in government. The amazing success of the republic during the last century just reviewed —its successes in war, in diplomacy, and in all the sagacious measures of policy by which its great dominion had been won—are reasonably ascribed to this fact. For the senate had wielded the power of the state, in most emergencies, with pas-

Supremacy of the senate

sionless deliberation and with unity and fixity of aim.

But it maintained its ascendancy by an increasing employment of means which debased and corrupted all orders alike. The people held powers which might paralyze the senate at any moment, if they chose to exercise them, through their assemblies and their tribunes. They had seldom brought those powers into play thus far, to interfere with the senatorial government of the republic, simply because they had been bribed to abstain. The art of the politician in Rome, as distinguished from the statesman, had already become a demagogic art. This could not well have been otherwise under the peculiar constitution of the Roman citizenship. Of the thirty-five tribes who made up the Roman people, legally qualified to vote, only four were within the city. The remaining thirty-one were *tribus rusticae*. There was no delegated representation of this country populace—citizens beyond the walls. To exercise their right of suffrage they must be present in person at the meetings of the *comitia tributa*—the tribal assemblies; and those of any tribe who chanced to be in attendance at such a meeting might give a vote which carried with it the weight of their whole tribe. For questions were decided by the majority of tribal, not individual, votes; and a very few members of a tribe might act for and be the tribe, for all purposes of voting, on occasions of the greatest possible importance.

Corruption of the people

Constitution of Roman citizenship

Ihne, *History of Rome*, 4:358-369

It is quite evident that a democratic system of this nature gave wide opportunity for corrupt "politics." There must have been, always, an attraction for the baser sort among the rural plebs, drawing them into the city, to enjoy the excitement of political contests, and to partake of the flatteries and largesses which began early to go with those. And circumstances had tended to increase this sinister sifting into Rome of the most vagrant and least responsible of her citizens, to make them practically the deputies and representatives of that mighty sovereign which had risen in the world — the "Populus Romanus."

Corrupt politics

For there was no longer thrift or dignity possible in the pursuits of husbandry. The long Hannibalic war had ruined the farming class in Italy by its ravages; but the extensive conquests that followed it had been still more ruinous to that class, by several effects combined. Corn supplies from the conquered provinces were poured into Rome at cheapened prices; enormous fortunes, gathered in the same provinces by officials, by farmers of taxes, by money-lenders, and by traders, were invested in great estates, absorbing the small farms of olden time; and, finally, free-labor in agriculture was supplanted, more and more, by the labor of slaves, which war and increasing wealth combined to multiply in numbers. Thus the rural plebs were a depressed and, therefore, a degenerating class, and the same circumstances that made them so impelled them

Ruin of the farming class

Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 4, ch. ii

Free labor degraded by slavery

towards the city, to swell the mob which held its mighty sovereignty in their hands.

Amusements for the Roman mob

So far, a lavish amusement of this mob with free games, and liberal bribes, had kept it generally submissive to the senatorial government. But the more it was debased by such methods, and its vagrancy encouraged, the more extravagant gratuities of like kind it claimed. Hence a time could never be far away when the aristocracy and the senate would lose their control of the popular vote on which they had built their governing power.

But they invited the quicker coming of that time by their own greediness in the employment of their power for selfish and dishonest ends. Practically they had recovered their monopoly of the use of the public lands. The Licinian law, which forbade any one person to occupy more than five hundred jugera (about three hundred acres) of the public lands, had been made a dead letter. The great tracts acquired in the Samnite wars, and since, had remained undistributed, while the use and profit of them were enjoyed, under one form of authority or another, by rich capitalists and powerful nobles.

Aristocratic monopoly of public lands

This evil, among many that waxed greater each year, caused the deepest discontent, and provoked movements of reform which passed by rapid stages into a revolution, and ended in the fall of the republic. The leader of the movement at its beginning was Tiberius Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus on the side of his mother, Cor-

Agrarian agitations

nelia. Elected tribune in 133 B. C., he set himself to the dangerous task of rousing the people against senatorial usurpations, especially in the matter of the public domain. He only drew upon himself the hatred of the senate and its selfish supporters; he failed to rally a popular party that was strong enough for his protection, and his enemies slew him in the very midst of a meeting of the tribes. His brother Caius took up the perilous cause and won the office of tribune in avowed hostility to the senatorial government. He was driven to bid high for popular help, even when the measures which he strove to carry were most plainly for the welfare of the common people, and he may seem to modern eyes to have played the demagogue with some extravagance. But statesmanship and patriotism without demagoguery for their instrument or their weapon were hardly practicable, perhaps, in the Rome of those days, and it is not easy to find them clean-handed in any political leader of the last century of the republic.

The Gracchi, B.C. 133-121

Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Caius Gracchus*

Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 4

The fall of Caius Gracchus was hastened by his attempt to extend the Roman franchise to all the freemen of Italy. The mob in Rome was not pleased with such political generosity, and cooled in its admiration for the large-minded tribune. He lost his office and the personal protection it threw over him, and then he, like his brother, was slain in a melée.

B. C. 121

For ten years the senate, the nobility, and the capitalists (now beginning to take the name of the

equestrian order), had mostly their own way again, and effaced the work of the Gracchi as completely as they could. Then came disgraceful troubles in Numidia which enraged the people and moved them to a new assertion of themselves.

The troubles in Numidia were a sequel to the awful tragedy of the destruction of Carthage, some thirty years before. The Numidians, who were the aboriginal neighbors of the Carthaginians, in north Africa, had been their allies in the second Punic war, and suffered with them on their defeat. The Numidian king was expelled from his throne and the kingdom given by the Romans to an outlawed prince, Massinissa, who became their tool, used for the perpetual harassing of Carthage, to prevent any possible revival of prosperity in that ruined state. Again and again the helpless Carthaginians appealed to Rome to protect them from his depredations, and finally they ventured to attempt the protection of themselves. Then the patient perfidy of Roman statecraft grasped its reward. It had waited many years for the provocations of Massinissa to work their effect; the maddened Carthaginians had broken, at last, the hard letter of the treaty of 201 by assailing the friend and ally of Rome. The pretext sufficed for a new declaration of war, with the fixed purpose of pressing it to the last extreme. Old Cato, who had been crying in the ears of the senate, "*Carthago delenda est*," should have his will.

Carthage and Massinissa

The goading of the Carthaginians

The doomed Carthaginians were kept in ignor-

ance of the fate decreed, until they had been tricked into the surrender of their arms and the whole armament of their city. But when they knew the dreadful truth, they threw off all cowardice and rose to such a majesty of spirit as had never been exhibited in their history before. Without weapons, or engines, or ships, until they made them anew, they shut their gates and kept the Roman armies out for more than two years. It was another Scipio, adopted grandson and namesake of the conqueror of Hannibal, who finally entered Carthage, fought his way to its citadel, street by street, and, against his own wish, by command of the implacable senate at Rome, leveled its last building to the earth, after sending the inhabitants who survived to be sold as slaves.

Destruction of Carthage, B. C. 146

When Massinissa died, he left his kingdom to be governed jointly by two young sons and an older nephew. The latter, Jugurtha, put his cousins out of the way, took the kingdom to himself, and baffled attempts at Rome to call him to account, by heavy bribes. The corruption in the case became so flagrant that even the corrupted Roman populace revolted against it, and took the Numidian business into its own hands. War was declared against Jugurtha by popular vote, and, despite opposing action in the senate, one Marius, an experienced soldier of humble birth, was elected consul and sent out to take command. Marius distinguished himself less than one of his officers, Cornelius Sulla; but he bore the lion's

Jugurtha

Marius

share of glory when Jugurtha was taken captive and conveyed to Rome. Marius was now the great hero of the hour, and events were preparing to lift him to the giddiest heights of popularity. B. C. 104

Hitherto, the barbarians of wild Europe whom the Romans had met were either Celts, or non-Aryan tribes in northern Italy, Spain and Gaul. Now, for the first time, the armies of Rome were challenged by tribes of another grand division of the group of peoples called Aryan, coming out of the farther north. These were the Cimbri and the Teutones, wandering hordes of the great Teutonic or Germanic race which has occupied western Europe north of the Rhine since the beginning of historic time. So far as we can know, these two were the first of the Germanic nations to migrate to the south.

First historic appearance of Teutonic peoples. B. C. 113-102

They came into collision with Rome in 113 B. C., when they were in Noricum, threatening the frontiers of her Italian dominion. Four years later they were in southern Gaul, where the Romans were now settling colonies and subduing the native Celts. Twice they had beaten the armies opposed to them; two years later they added a third to their victories; and in 105 B. C. they threw Rome into consternation by destroying two great armies on the Rhone. Italy seemed helpless against the invasion for which these terrible barbarians were now preparing, when Marius went against them. In the summer of 102 B. C. he annihilated the Teutones, near Aquæ Sextiæ (modern Aix), and in the following year

Cimbri and Teutones

Victories of Marius. B. C. 102-101

he destroyed the invading Cimbri, on a bloody field in northern Italy, near modern Vercellæ.

His popularity and power

From these great victories, Marius went back to Rome, doubly and terribly clothed with power, by the devotion of a reckless army and the hero-worship of an unthinking mob. The state was at his mercy. A strong man in his place might have crushed the class-factions and accomplished the settlement which Cæsar made after half a century more of turbulence and shame. But Marius was ignorant, he was weak, and he became a mere blood-stained figure in the ruinous anarchy of his time.

Optimates and populares

The social and political state of the capital had grown worse. A middle-class in Roman society had practically disappeared. The two contending parties or factions, which had taken new names—"optimates" and "populares"—were now divided almost solely by the line which separates rich from poor. "If we said that 'optimates' signified the men who bribed and abused office under the banner of the senate and its connections, and that 'populares' meant men who bribed and abused office with the interests of the people outside the senatorial pale upon their lips, we might do injustice to many good men on both sides, but should hardly be slandering the parties." There was a desperate conflict between the two in the year 100 B. C. and the senate once more recovered its power for a brief term of years.

Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla*, p. 14

The enfranchisement of the so-called "allies" —the Latin and other subjects of Rome who

were not citizens—was the burning question of the time. The attempt of Gaius Gracchus to extend rights of citizenship to them had been renewed again and again, without success, and each failure had increased the bitter discontent of the Italian people. In 90 B. C. they drew together in a formidable confederation and rose in revolt. In the face of this great danger Rome sobered herself to action with old time wisdom and vigor. She yielded her full citizenship to all Italian freemen who had not taken arms, and then offered it to those who would lay their arms down. At the same time she fought the insurrection with every army she could put into the field, and in two years it was at an end. Marius and his old lieutenant, Sulla, had been the principal commanders in this "Social War," as it was named, and Sulla had distinguished himself most. The latter had now an army at his back and was a power in the state, and between the two military champions there arose a rivalry which produced the first of the Roman civil wars.

The Social War. B.C. 90-88

Marius and Sulla

Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, ch.xv-xxv

Simultaneously with the revolt in Italy, a dangerous new enemy was threatening Rome in the east. What had been the little kingdom of Pontus, part of ancient Cappadocia, on the southern shore of the Pontus Euxine, had grown suddenly, or within a score of years, to a power which dared rivalry with the mistress of the Mediterranean world. Along with several other principalities in Asia Minor, it rose from among the fragments of the brief empire of Alexander to

an independence which it maintained against his struggling successors, and a Persian line of princes held its throne. Most of them bore the name of Mithridates; but the name had little distinction until the sixth Mithridates came on the scene. At about 112 B. C., when he had reached the age of twenty, this king of Pontus began a career of conquest which extended his dominions around nearly the whole circuit of the Euxine, before the century closed. As his power increased, so did his hostility to Rome, and he became the ally and supporter of all her foes. He had intrigued with the rebels in Italy; his finger had been in the Jugurthine war; he had worked on anti-Roman passions in Egypt and Syria; and now he instigated a desperate Greek rising against the Romans, beginning with a horrible massacre of Roman residents in Asia Minor and spreading to Greece. Rome had not faced a situation so dangerous since Hannibal was crushed.

Mithridates, king of Pontus. B. C. 132(?)-63

His hostility to Rome

Greek revolt

Both Marius and Sulla aspired to the command in Greece. Sulla obtained election to the consulship in 88 B. C. and was named for the coveted place, but Marius succeeded in having the appointment annulled by a popular assembly and himself chosen instead for the eastern command. Sulla, personally imperiled by popular tumults, fled to his legions, put himself at their head, and marched back to Rome—the first among her generals to turn her arms against herself. There was no effective resistance; Marius fled; both senate and people were submissive to the dictates

Rivalry of Marius and Sulla

of the consul who had become master of the city. He "made the tribes decree their own political extinction, resuscitating the comitia centuriata; he reorganized the senate by adding three hundred to its members and vindicating the right to sanction legislation; conducted the consular elections, exacting from L. Cornelius Cinna, the newly elected consul, a solemn oath that he would observe the new regulations, and securing the election of Cn. Octavius in his own interest, and then, like 'a countryman who had just shaken the lice off his coat,' to use his own figure, he turned to do his great work in the east."

Horton, *History of the Romans*, p. 230

Sulla went to Greece, which was in revolt and in alliance with Mithridates, and conducted there a brilliant, ruthless campaign for three years, in the course of which Athens, taken by storm after a long siege, was more than half destroyed, and most of its inhabitants were slain. Roman authority was restored in the peninsula, and the king of Pontus was compelled to surrender all his conquests in Asia Minor. Until this task was finished, Sulla gave no heed to what his enemies did at Rome; though the struggle there between "Sullans" and "Marians" had gone fiercely and bloodily on, and his own partisans had been beaten in the fight. The consul Octavius, who was in Sulla's interest, had first driven the consul Cinna out of the city, after slaying 10,000 of his faction. Cinna's cause was taken up by the new Italian citizens; he was joined by the exiled Marius, and these two returned together, with an

Sulla in Greece. B. C. 87-84

Strife of Sullans and Marians at Rome

army which the senate and the party of Sulla were unable to resist. Marius came back with a burning heart and with savage intentions of revenge. A horrible massacre of his opponents ensued, which went on unchecked for five days, and was continued more deliberately for several months, until Marius died. Then Cinna ruled absolutely at Rome for three years, supported in the main by the newly-made citizens; while the provinces in general remained under the control of the party of the optimates.

Death of Marius. B. C. 86

In 83 B. C. Sulla, having finished with carefulness his work in the east, came back into Italy, with 40,000 veterans to attend his steps. He had been outlawed and deprived of his command, by the faction governing at the capital; but its decrees had no effect and troubled him little. Cinna had been killed by his own troops, even before Sulla's landing at Brundisium. Several important leaders and soldiers on the Marian side, such as Pompeius (commonly called Pompey), then a young general, and Crassus, the millionaire, went over to Sulla's camp. One of the consuls of the year saw his troops follow their example, in a body; the other consul was beaten and driven into Capua. Sulla wintered in Campania, and the next spring he pressed forward to Rome, fighting a decisive battle with Marius the younger on the way, and took possession of the city; but not in time to prevent a massacre of senators by the resentful mob.

Sulla's victorious return. B. C. 83-82

Before that year closed, the whole of Italy had

been subdued, the final battle being fought with the Marians and Italians at the Colline Gate, and Sulla again possessed power supreme. He placed it beyond dispute by a deliberate extermination of his opponents, more merciless than the Marian massacre had been. They were proscribed by name, in placarded lists, and rewards paid to those who killed them; while their property was confiscated, and became the source of vast fortunes to Sulla's supporters, and of lands for distribution to his veterans.

His proscription of his enemies

When this terror had paralyzed all resistance to his rule, the Dictator (for he had taken that title) undertook a complete reconstruction of the constitution, aiming at a permanent restoration of senatorial ascendancy and a curbing of the powers which the people, in their assemblies, and the magistrates who especially represented them, had gained during the preceding century. He remodeled, moreover, the judicial system, and some of his reforms were undoubtedly good, though they did not endure. When he had fashioned the state to his liking, this extraordinary usurper abdicated his dictatorial office and retired to private life, undisturbed until his death.

Sulla's dictatorship. B. C. 82-80

His death. B. C. 78

The system he had established did not save Rome from renewed distractions and disorder after Sulla died. There was no longer a practical question between senate and people—between the few and the many in government. The question now, since the legionaries held their swords

After Sulla

prepared to be flung into the scale, was what *one* should again gather the powers of government into his hands, as Sulla had done.

The game for empire, and the players

The history of the next thirty years—the last generation of republican Rome—is a sad and sinister but thrilling chronicle of the strifes and intrigues, the machinations and corruptions, of a stupendous and wicked game in politics that was played, against one another and against the republic, by a few daring, ambitious players, with the empire of the civilized world for the stake between them. There were more than a few who aspired; there were only three players who entered really as principals into the game. These were Pompey, or Pompeius, called "the Great," since he extinguished the Marian faction in Sicily and in Spain; Crassus, whose wealth gave him power, and who acquired some military pretensions besides, by taking the field against a formidable insurrection of slaves; and Julius Cæsar, a young patrician, but nephew of Marius by marriage, who assiduously strengthened that connection with the party of the people, and who began, very soon after Sulla's death, to draw attention to himself as a rising power in the politics of the day. There were two other men, Cicero and the younger Cato, who bore a nobler and greater because less selfish part in the contest of that fateful time. Both were blind to the impossibility of restoring the old order of things, with a dominant senate, a free but well guided populace, and a simply ordered social state; but

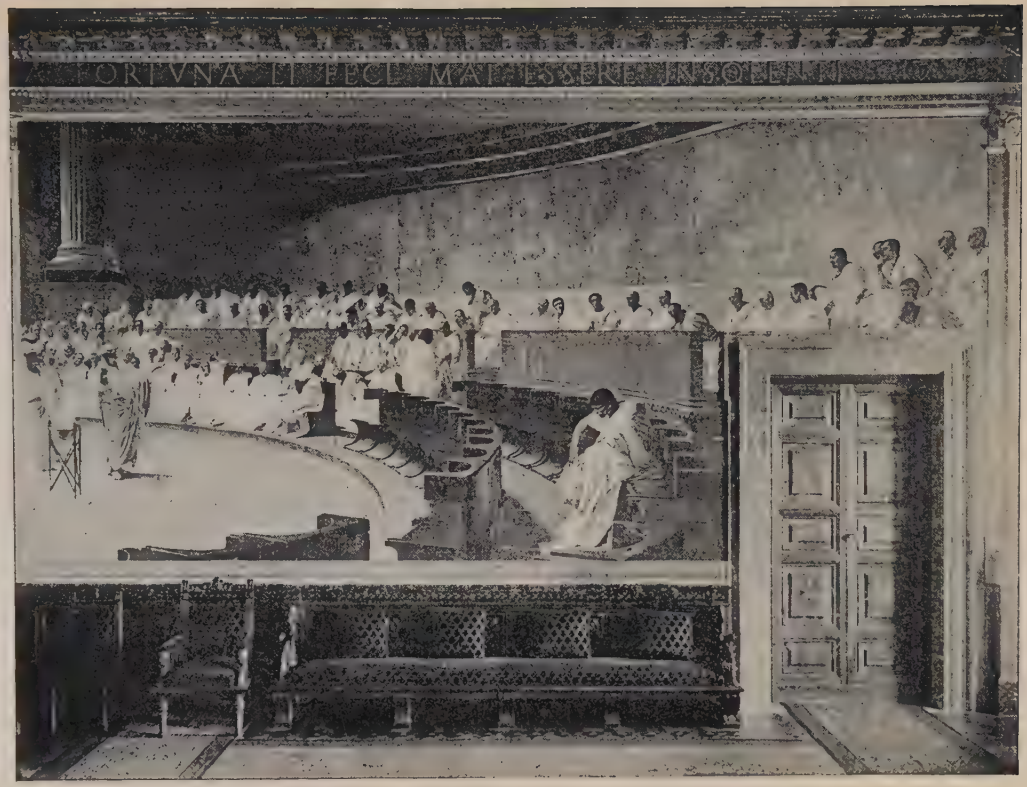
Pompey

Crassus

Cæsar

Cicero

Cato the younger



CICERO AGAINST CATILINE

From the Painting by Cæsare Maccari (1840-)

their blindness was heroic and high-souled.

Of the three strong rivals for the vacant dictatorial chair which waited to be filled, Pompey held by far the greater advantages. His fame as a soldier was already won; he had been a favorite of fortune from the beginning of his career; everything had succeeded with him; everything was expected for him and expected from him. Even while the issues of the great struggle were pending, a wonderful opportunity for increasing his renown was opened to him. The disorders of the civil war had licensed a swarm of pirates, who fairly possessed the eastern Mediterranean and had nearly extirpated the maritime trade. Pompey was sent against them, with a commission that gave him almost unlimited powers, and within ninety days he had driven them from the sea. Then, before he had returned from this exploit, he was invested with supreme command in the entire east, where another troublesome war with Mithridates was going on. He harvested there all the laurels which belonged by better right to his predecessor, Lucullus, who had broken the power of Mithridates.

Pompey in the east. B. C. 67-61

Affairs in western Asia

The fallen Mithridates was driven from his old dominions into the Crimean kingdom of Bosporus, where, two years later, he ended his life in despair. From Pontus, Pompey passed into Armenia, receiving the submission of its king, and then to Syria, where he extinguished the Seleucid

End of the Seleucid monarchy. B. C. 64

monarchy, removing the last of its kings from his throne. He had received from the Roman senate and people, under an enactment called the Manilian Law, an extraordinary commission, investing him with supreme power in Asia, and by virtue of that authority he assumed to dispose of eastern kingdoms at will. Pontus, Syria, and a large part of Armenia, were added to the dominion of Rome, which now took in very nearly the whole of Asia Minor and reached the Euphrates, where it came into contact with a powerful empire, stretching from the Euphrates to the Indus, which the kings of Parthia had built up.

Roman dominion in the east

In the Jewish kingdom, at this time, two brothers, of the Hasmonean family, were contesting the crown, one of them assisted by the king of the Nabatæans,—a neighboring people, in the Sinaitic peninsula, who, in some unknown way, had come into possession of the region held by the Edomites in earlier times. Pompey sent one of his generals into Judea to interpose in the strife. Both contestants attempted to buy his favor; he gave it to the one opposed by the Nabatæans, and ordered the latter to depart. Some months later, Pompey appeared in person, and gave a hearing to all parties concerned, including an embassy that spoke for the people at large. The latter asked for the abolition of the monarchy and the restoration of the old constitution of government, under the high priests. Pompey reserved his decision, and required all parties to be at peace until he gave it; but some movements occurred

Pompey in Judea

in the period of waiting which gave him reasons for advancing to Jerusalem and demanding admission to the city. It was surrendered, and his legions entered the gates, but found a strong war-party fortified on the temple mount, prepared to fight there to the death. These defenders of the temple were overcome after a siege of three months, and 12,000 are said to have been slaughtered when the hour of victory came to the merciless soldiers of Rome.

Roman legions in Jerusalem. B. C. 63

Pompey forced his way into the most holy place of the temple, which none but the high priest had ever entered before; but otherwise he left the Jewish sanctuary and its services undisturbed. The Hasmonean monarchy was extinguished. Hyrcanus, one of the brothers whose rivalry had brought it to an end, was appointed high priest and placed in nominal authority, as a tributary vassal of Rome. At the same time, important parts of the Jewish territory were taken from his jurisdiction and added to the Roman province of Syria, lately formed. Hyrcanus proved soon to be a mere puppet in the hands of an able minister, Antipater, called the Idumean, who took the reins of government into his own hands.

Extinction of the Hasmonean monarchy. B. C. 63

Antipater

Egypt was now the only Mediterranean state left outside of the all-absorbing dominion of Rome; and the monarchy of the Ptolemies existed only because Roman policy, for some reason, postponed its fate. It had no independence in any matter on which Rome chose to issue a command. For a century past, its history had

Egypt

been little more than a chronicle of the foul vices and crimes of its royal family and their corrupted court. One of the recent kings—there is uncertainty which one of two or three—was alleged to have bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman republic, which might at any time give orders for taking possession of the bequest.

Last Years of the Roman Republic

Pompey came back to Rome in the spring of 61 B. C. so glorified by his successes that he might have seemed to be irresistible, whatever he should undertake. But either an honest patriotism or an overweening confidence had led him to disband his army when he reached Italy, and he had committed himself to no party. He stood alone and aloof, with a great prestige, great ambitions, and no ability to use the one or realize the other. Before another year passed, he was glad to accept offers of a helping hand in politics from Cæsar, who had climbed the ladder of office rapidly within four or five years, spending vast sums of borrowed money to amuse the people with games, and distinguishing himself as a democratic champion. Cæsar, the far seeing calculator, discerned the enormous advantages that he might gain for himself by massing together the prestige of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and his own invincible genius, which was sure to be the master element in the league. He brought the coalition about through a bargain which created what is known in history as the First Triumvirate, or supremacy of three.

Pompey's position

The First Triumvirate. B. C. 60-53

Fowler, *Julius Cæsar*, ch. vi-vii

Under the terms of the bargain, Cæsar was chosen consul for 59 B. C., and at the end of his term was given the governorship of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, with command of three legions there, for five years. His grand aim was a military command—the leadership of an army—the prestige of a successful soldier. No sooner had he secured the command than fortune gave him opportunities for its use in a striking way and with impressive results.

Cæsar in Gaul. B. C. 58-50

Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy) had been subjugated and was tranquil; Transalpine Gaul (Gaul west and north of the Alps, or modern France, Switzerland, and Belgium) was troubled and threatening. In Transalpine Gaul the Romans had made no conquests beyond the Rhone, as yet, except along the coast at the south. The country between the Alps and the Rhone, excepting certain territories of Massilia (Marseilles) which still continued to be a free city, in alliance with Rome, had been appropriated and organized as a province—the Provence of later times. The territory between the Rhone and the Cevennes mountains was not so fully occupied and controlled.

Trans-alpine Gaul

Cæsar's first proceeding as proconsul in Gaul was to arrest the migration of a tribe called the Helvetii, who had determined to abandon their Swiss valleys and to seize some new territory in Gaul. He blocked their passage through Roman Gaul, then followed them in their movement eastward of the Rhone, attacked and defeated

Cæsar's subjugation of the Gallic tribes

them with great slaughter, and forced the small remnant to return to their deserted mountain homes. The same year he drove out of Gaul a formidable body of Suevic Germans who had

B. C. 58

crossed the Rhine some years before, under Ariovistus, their king. The next year he reduced to submission the powerful tribes of the Belgian

B. C. 57

region, who had provoked attack by leaguing themselves against the Roman intrusion in Gaul. The most obstinate of those tribes—the Nervii—were destroyed. In the following year Cæsar attacked and nearly exterminated the Veneti, a

B. C. 56

remarkable maritime people, who occupied part of Armorica (modern Brittany); he also reduced the coast tribes northwards to submission, while

Cæsar, *The Gallic War*

one of his lieutenants made a conquest of Aquitania.

The conquest of Gaul was now apparently complete, and next year, after routing and cutting to pieces another horde of Germanic invaders who had ventured across the lower Rhine, Cæsar traversed the channel and invaded Britain. This

Cæsar's invasions of Britain. B. C. 55-54

first invasion, which had been little more than a reconnoissance, was repeated the year following with a larger force. It was an expedition having small results, and Cæsar returned from it in the early autumn, to find his power in Gaul undermined everywhere by rebellious plots. For

Gallic revolts

nearly three years he was occupied in crushing the revolts, which he did with an energy, a daring, a celerity of movement, an unerring aim in every stroke, that have rarely been equaled in the whole

history of war. All soldiers have admired the Gallic campaigns of Cæsar; all humane persons have shuddered at the ruthlessness with which he accomplished his purpose, of breaking the independent spirit of a noble race. He had finished his work in the year 51 B. C. He had pushed the frontiers of the dominion of Rome to the ocean and the Rhine, and had threatened the nations of Germany on the northern banks of that stream. "The conquest of Gaul by Cæsar," says Mr. Freeman, "is one of the most important events in the history of the world. It is in some sort the beginning of modern history, as it brought the old world of southern Europe, of which Rome was the head, into contact with the lands and nations which were to play the greatest part in later times—with Gaul, Germany, and Britain."

Results of Cæsar's campaigns

Meantime, while pursuing a career of conquest which excited the Roman world, Cæsar never lost touch with the capital and its seething politics. Each winter he repaired to Lucca, the point in his province that was nearest to Rome, and conferred there with his friends, who flocked to the rendezvous. He secured an extension of his term, to enable him to complete his plans, and year by year he grew more independent of the support of his colleagues in the triumvirate, while they weakened one another by their jealousies, and the Roman state was more hopelessly distracted by factious strife.

Seething politics at Rome

The year after Cæsar's second invasion of Britain, Crassus, who had obtained the govern-

Death of Crassus. B. C. 53

ment of Syria, perished in a disastrous war with the Parthians, who now possessed nearly the whole territory of the old Persian empire, excepting in Asia Minor and Syria. The triumvirate was at an end. Disorder in Rome increased and Pompey lacked energy or boldness to deal with it, though he seemed to be the one man present who might do so. He was made sole consul in 52 B. C.; he might have seized the dictatorship, with approval of many, but he waited for it to be offered to him, and the offer never came. He drew at last into close alliance with the party of the Optimates, and left the Populares to be won entirely to Cæsar's side.

Pompey with the Optimates

Matters came to a crisis in 50 B. C., when the senate passed an order removing Cæsar from his command and discharging his soldiers who had served their term. He came to Ravenna with a single legion and concerted measures with his friends. The issue involved is supposed to have been one of life or death to him, as well as of triumph or failure in his ambitions; for his enemies were malignant. His friends demanded that he be made consul, for his protection, before laying down his arms. The senate answered by proclaiming him a public enemy if he failed to disband his troops with no delay. It was a declaration of war, and Cæsar accepted it. He marched his single legion across the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, and advanced towards Rome.

Civil war. B. C. 50

Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 5

Crossing the Rubicon

Pompey, with the forces he had gathered,

retreated southward, and consuls, senators and nobles generally streamed after him. Cæsar followed them—turning aside from the city—and his force gathered numbers as he advanced. The Pompeians continued their flight and abandoned Italy, withdrawing to Epirus, planning to gather there the forces of the east and return. Cæsar now took possession of Rome and secured the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, from which it drew its supply of food. This done, he proceeded without delay to Spain, where seven legions devoted to Pompey were stationed. He overcame them in a single campaign, enlisted most of the veterans in his own service, and acquired a store of treasure.

Flights of the Pompeians

Before the year ended, Cæsar was again in Rome, where the citizens had proclaimed him dictator. He held the dictatorship for eleven days, only, to legalize an election which made him consul, with a pliant associate. He reorganized the government, complete in all its branches, including a senate, composed partly of former members of the body who had remained or returned. Then he took up the pursuit of Pompey and the Optimates. Crossing to Epirus, after some months of changeful fortune, he fought and won the decisive battle of Pharsalia. Pompey, flying to Egypt, was murdered there. Cæsar, following, with a small force, was placed in great peril by a rising at Alexandria, but held his ground till assistance came. He then garrisoned Egypt with Roman troops and made the princess

Cæsar dictator and consul

Battle of Pharsalia. B. C. 48

Death of Pompey

Cleopatra, who had captivated him by her charms, joint occupant of the throne with her younger brother.

During his absence, affairs at Rome were again disturbed, and when he returned he was reappointed dictator, as well as tribune for life. His presence restored order at once, and he was soon in readiness to attack a party of his enemies who had taken refuge in Africa. The battle of Thapsus, followed by the suicide of Cato and the surrender of Utica, practically finished the contest, though one more campaign was fought in Spain the following year.

Battle of Thapsus. B. C. 46

Cæsar was now master of the dominions of Rome, and as entirely a monarch as any one of his imperial successors, who took his name, with the power which he caused it to symbolize, and called themselves "cæsars," and "imperators," as though the two titles were equivalent. "Imperator" was the title under which he chose to exercise his sovereignty. Other Roman generals had been imperators before, but he was the first to be named imperator for life, and the word (changed in our tongue to emperor) took a meaning from that day more regal than Rex or King. That Cæsar, the imperator, first of all emperors, ever coveted the crown and title of an older-fashioned royalty, is not an easy thing to believe.

Cæsar Imperator

Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. xix-xxi

Having settled his authority firmly, he gave his attention to the organization of the empire (still republic in name) and to the reforming of the evils which afflicted it. That he did this work

Reorganization of Roman government

with consummate judgment and success is the opinion of all who study his time. He gratified no resentments, executed no revenges, proscribed no enemies. All who submitted to his rule were safe; and it seems to be clear that the people in general were glad to be rescued by his rule from the old oligarchical and anarchical state. But some of Cæsar's own partisans were dissatisfied with the autocracy which they helped to create, or with the slenderness of their own parts in it. They conspired with surviving leaders of the Optimates, and Cæsar was assassinated by them, in the senate chamber, on the 15th of March, B. C. 44.

Assassination of Cæsar. B. C. 44

China

The opening of the period surveyed in this chapter coincides with the founding of one of the most important of the Chinese dynasties, namely that called the Han, which acquired the imperial throne in 202 B. C., and occupied it for more than four hundred years. The founder of the dynasty is credited with the institution of the system of competitive examinations for public office, which has prevailed through twenty centuries, and which seems to have acted upon society and government with a peculiarly moulding force. It is due to that system, without doubt, that no hereditary nobility has arisen among the Chinese; that literature and learning, of a kind, have been honored among them as among no other peoples; and that the kind of learning and literature so valued and respected has become convention-

The Han dynasty, B. C. 202-A. D. 220

Competitive examination system

alized and valueless to an unexampled degree.

The despotism established by Hwangti was relaxed by the Han emperors without weakening their authority. Freedom to criticise the government, which Hwangti had suppressed, was restored by a wiser sovereign, who said that he needed it to give him information of the true mind of his people. Under Vouti, the ablest and strongest of the Han dynasty, the never ceasing warfare of the Chinese with their Mongolian neighbors was waged with unusual success. Vouti is recognized as having established and consolidated the Han dynasty, and given it such an importance in the history of the empire that the Chinese "are now, and probably will always be, proud to style themselves 'the sons of Han.'"

Vouti

Boulger, *History of China*, 1:88

Nebraska Christian College Library

Courtesy of

NEBRASKA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
B04473
Larned's history of the world;
D20 .L3 1915